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GANGANATHA JHA
RESEARCH INSTITUTE

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FOREWORD

For nearly a quarter of a century, if not more, it was impossible for any one here to talk of the Allahabad University and not to think at the same time of Sir Ganga Nath Jha. His reputation as a Sanskrit scholar had spread far beyond the confines of this country. It is only for those, who know Sanskrit or who are well-versed in Hindu philosophy to give a correct estimate of the contribution he made to the exposition of Hindu thought, but as one, who has been more or less interested in the various aspects of our intellectual life, I can say that wherever I went in India or outside I found scholars and savants speaking of him in terms of the greatest respect and veneration. I can say from personal knowledge that his translation of the Hindu Law text books, which I have on several occasions used in courts of law, are most illuminating and are monuments of learning and research. He lived the typical life of a Hindu Pandit,—by instinct and tradition a conservative, he was intensely proud of the contribution of our ancestors in the realm of thought and he considered it his duty—and none was more qualified than he—to interpret that thought to us in our generation. Above everything else he was the living example of—a life dedicated to the service of scholarship. If it is true to say of any one it may be said of him in all sincerity that his whole life was a life of plain living and high thinking. Altogether whether we look to his intellectual life or to the high standard of purity which he set in private life, he was a most valuable asset to the Allahabad University.

I am, therefore, glad that his admirers have taken the step to establish an Institution to be named after him. I am also glad that during the few months that we have

been working we have been able to raise something like Rs. 60,000. We are working for a much higher figure and when once we succeed in getting the necessary funds we hope to have a building of the Institute and to instal in it a library of Sanskrit and Persian and to bring out a series of books written by scholars and experts to perpetuate his memory. Meanwhile it has been decided by the Committee of which I happen to be the Chairman to issue a Journal as a tribute to his memory. I hope that this Journal will make a wide appeal and encourage us in the task we have undertaken out of respect to his memory.

TEJ BAHADUR SAPRU

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[Part 1

OURSELVES

Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Hony. F.R.A.S., closed a life of single-minded devotion to studies in Indian Philosophy, Hindu Law and Jurisprudence and other branches of Sanskrit learning at Allahabad on November 10, 1941. It is mainly his translation of most of our philosophical classics which has aroused the present widespread interest in Indian Philosophy in this country and abroad and our debt to him is thus unrepayable.

It occurred to some of the friends, admirers, and pupils of the great Pandit and philosopher that our gratitude could be given a visible shape by founding in his name an Oriental Research Institute in which the torch lighted by him could be kept burning, in which researches into our cultural heritage could be pursued, if possible, with his devotion. Dr. Jha himself could not have liked any other memorial. "Continue to be students" was always the advice he gave to scholars.

The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, Dr. Sir Kameshwara Singh, took the initiative and made a donation of Rupees Twenty-Five Thousand. With this initial grant in hand, an appeal was issued for more funds and Sir Padmapat Singhanian of Cawnpore, H. H. Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal, and other donors came forward with donations big and small.

Though we have not yet been able to collect together three lakhs of rupees which are necessary for the scheme

to start with and ten lakhs for its proper functioning, our receipts have been encouraging enough for making a start on the second anniversary of the *tithi* of Dr. Jha's journey to the other world, as a homage to his sacred memory.

Panditaji was born in Mithila in Bihar. But the greater part of his life was spent in the U.P., earlier as a student at Benares and later as a teacher and a Vice-Chancellor and also after retirement as a continuous worshipper of *Sarasvatī* at Allahabad. He thus properly belonged to the U.P.

He was the first man in this province to undertake serious research work on the Arts side. His example has spread in other centres of learning in the U.P. and good work is going on all over the province in various branches of Oriental Studies. It is but right that this province should raise a memorial in his honour. A Central Oriental Institute has been a great desideratum in this province and we hope that our Institute will remove that long-felt want. Certain other provinces can boast of similar Institutes but in a vast country like India there is room for more and more of these. We hope that this organisation associated with the name of one of the most illustrious of Orientalists of recent times will receive the co-operation of scholars all over the country and abroad.

We are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor of the U.P., His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, Professor Dr. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Dr. Panna Lall and Dr. Bhagavan Das for the messages they have sent to us.

As the first sign of our life we are publishing today this first number of a Quarterly Research Journal. We are highly thankful to the scholars from different parts of the country who have sent us their valuable contributions. Our one regret is that for lack of space we could not publish all of them in the first number. Others will go

into the second and subsequent issues. The enthusiastic response received from the scholarly world is a good augury and a proof, if proof is needed, of the esteem in which Dr. Jha was held by scholars. As we secure more funds, we shall come forward with other publications, of texts, translations and studies. May God Almighty enable us to make the Institute a fit memorial to the great scholar and may those efforts help in the spread of higher knowledge in the land! Our prayer, therefore, is:

आरम्भोऽयं शुभायास्तु पत्रस्य संसदस्तथा ।

विद्यायाः प्रसरो येन संसिद्धेज्जगतीतले ॥

November 17, 1943.

MESSAGES

A year ago the United Provinces lost one of its most distinguished citizens, Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, and no more fitting tribute to his memory could be paid than by the establishment of a Quarterly Research Journal devoted to Oriental Studies. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha did much in his life-time to further classical study in India, and I wish the new Journal every success in carrying on his valuable work in his memory.

M. G. HALLET

Governor, United Provinces.

Although the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha's work lay in the United Provinces, he was a Bihari by birth and belonged to one of the best known families of the Province. Bihar may well be proud of such a distinguished son. But Dr. Jha belongs not to any particular Province but to India as a whole and it is appropriate that his memory should be honoured in the way which would have appealed to him most by the production of a Quarterly Journal devoted to research in Oriental Studies. Such an undertaking is bound to receive support not only from the Provinces with which the Mahamahopadhyaya was most intimately connected but from Scholars in every part of India.

R. F. MUDIE

Governor, Bihar.

Professor Sir Ganganatha Jha's name will be remembered for long in connection with the development of Sanskrit studies in India. His monumental translations of Sanskrit Classics afford the source and material for a large number of dissertations for the Ph.D. and D.Litt. Degrees of Indian Universities. His combination of Orthodox learning with the Western methods of criticism is a rare phenomenon. I hope that his life and work will serve as an inspiration for others to follow in his footsteps and contribute to the advancement of Oriental Learning.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

It is in the fitness of things that a Research Journal should be instituted to preserve the memory of Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganatha Jha for he was more than anything else a student and a teacher inspiring those around him by his shining example and encouraging them with sympathetic understanding. It is more than a quarter of a century ago that I first had the good fortune of meeting him. In connection with my Studies in Gupta Chronology, I was engaged in finding the proper interpretation of one of the Mandor inscriptions and came to the conclusion that the meaning which Fleet sought to put on it was unnatural and forced to support a pre-conceived idea. Naturally, as a very young student in the field of research, I felt considerable hesitation in challenging an acknowledged master like Fleet. I turned to Ganganatha Jha. He gave me a great deal of his time and attention and finally, to my surprise and unspeakable joy, gave me a written opinion upholding my interpretation as against Fleet. That encouraged me to publish my results and correct many inaccuracies in Gupta Chronology, and my views were at once accepted by historians (*vide* Vincent Smith's *History of India*). I attribute the foundations

of my interest and confidence in historical research to Ganganatha Jha, whose name will always remain with me as a sacred and revered memory.

PANNA LALL

I cordially welcome the starting of the *Sir Ganganatha Jha Research Institute Journal*, and have every hope that it will do justice to the great learning of the departed Savant, my dear and now much missed friend, and will, at the same time, put *real life* into Sanskrit learning, language, literature (which Western Orientalists, not wholly without reason, regard as *dead*), by bringing them into active *helpful* touch with the various departments of the daily life of the Indian people: *e.g.*, by showing how the ancient 'Ārṣa' principles of *Rāja-Śāstra* (*nīti*) and *Samāja-Śāstra* and *Artha-Śāstra* can be synthesised with those of modern Western Politics, Socionomics, and Economics; how the fundamental ideas of *Ayurveda* and the other *Upavedas* can be co-ordinated with those of the corresponding Western medical and other sciences; how the basic notions of *Jyotiṣa* can be reconciled with those of modern Astronomy; how modern Western metaphysics and psychology lead right up to *Vedānta-Sāṅkhya-Yoga* and so forth;—and, all this governed and inspired by the definite *purpose* of lifting up the life of the Indian People from the depths of moral, intellectual, economical, domestic, social, political, and spiritual degradation, into which it has fallen.

I wish every success to the Journal along these lines.

BHAGAVAN DAS

KALPA OR THE WORLD-CYCLE

BY DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY

In the Hindu astronomical works and also in the Purāṇas the creator of the world is assigned a day of 1000 *Yugas* and a night of the same duration. The world is stated to disappear at the end of the period and to reappear in its original form at the close of the night period. This fantastic notion seems to have its origin in the Vedic eclipse-cycle of 1000 *Yugas*. We may go so far as to say that the Vedic statement that the creator sets the sun and the moon as before (*Sūryā-candramasau dhātā yathāpūrvanākalpayat divaṃ ca pṛthivīm cānta-riṣamatho svaḥ*,—X. 190, 3) is taken to mean the creation of the world at the end of a *Kalpa*. *The Bhagavad-gītā* says (VIII. 17—19):—Those who know the creator's day-period of 1000 *Yugas* and also his night period of same length understand what a day and night mean precisely. At the dawn of the creator's day the whole universe manifests itself from the unknown and lies merged within the same unknown at night. Thus the appearance and disappearance of the world with the same life and matter as before are said to recur cycle after cycle of 1000 *Yugas*.

A *Yuga* means *Parva* or a fortnight. As pointed out in "*The Drapsa*" and also in "*The Eclipse-cult*", the Vedic eclipse-cycle of 1000 *Yugas* or *Parvas* of $14\frac{3}{4}$ days each is equal to forty years nearly, while in the fancied world-cycle it is interpreted to mean 1000 *Yugas* of 12000 divine years, or 4,32,0000 human years. If we take a *Parva* to be equal to 14 days, as the Vedic poets seem to have done avoiding fraction, then 1000 *Parvas*, or 14000 days come to be nearly equal to 39 years and a few months. Splitting this period into two parts of 7000 days each, the

Vedic poets called each part a *Sapta-puruṣa*-cycle, a *Puruṣa*-cycle being taken to be a period of 1000 days, with at least three visible eclipses, solar or lunar or both together on an average. 1029 days constitute three nodal or eclipse years of 343 days each. In each eclipse year no more than four eclipses, two solar and two lunar, can possibly occur. Sometimes, there may be in the same locality one visible eclipse or none at all in a nodal year. In three nodal years there can possibly be no more than 12 eclipses and not less than three visible eclipses in the same locality. Eclipses are variously called in the Vedas. They were sometimes called three brothers, or three fathers, *i.e.*, father, grand-father, and great-grand-father. The three descriptive designations given to the three eclipses of a cycle of 1000 days are *Paṭara*, one of dusky appearance, *Viklidha*, one of black colour, and *Piṅga*, one of yellow colour. An eclipse is generally called a *Putra*, or *Vatsa*, or *Prajā*, all meaning a son. In *R. V.* 1, 164, 1 the three eclipses are called *Palita*, grey, *Aśna*, black, and *Ghṛtapṛṣṭha*, as yellow as ghee. If there were 17 eclipses in the order 4, 4, 2, 5, and 2 in five successive cycles of 1000 days or rather five successive years, this rare occurrence of 17 seems to have received the name of *Prajāpati* or *Viṣṇu*. The mnemonic formula denoting this phenomenon is “*Āśrācaya, astu śraṇṣaṭ, Yaja, yeyajāmahe, vaṇṣaṭ*”, where each of the seventeen syllables stands for an eclipse. In “*The Drapsa*” I took this formula to signify a cycle of 17 years. Now, I find that it signifies rather the occurrence of 17 eclipses in the order noted above.

The *Apri* hymns contain a formula of offerings to be made to *Indra* on the days of eclipses observed in the course of 33 years made up of two cycles, namely, one of 19 years and the other of 13 years with one intercalary year. The number of eclipses observed during the minor cycle of 13

years is stated to be not less than 33 and not more than 35. They are sometimes counted as eleven on earth, eleven in air, and eleven in the sky, and at other times as eight *Vasus*, eleven *Rudras*, twelve *Ādityas*, and two called *Dyāvāprthivī*, earth and sky. The thirty-three gods connected with the *Apri* hymns are not only year-gods, but eclipse-gods. Eclipses of smaller digits are called lambs (*Avis*) and those of greater digits bulls. In the *Mantras* of *Prayājas* and *Anuyājas* connected with the *Apri* hymns *Indra's* age is given in terms of eclipses called *Tryavis* or three lambs in the course of 18 months, *Pañcāvis* or five lambs in the course of 30 months or in the course of 6 months, three being observed on one node in the course of a month, and two on the other node after six months. Draught oxen, a cow with a calf, or a bull are names of eclipses of larger digits. Counting the number of all visible eclipses, both solar and lunar, given in the Eclipse-table in Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, the average number of visible eclipses for a hundred years is found to be about 252, 99 solar and 153 lunar. As pointed out in "The Eclipse-cult", *Sambara* is a demon causing an eclipse, and his three forts (*Puras*) are usually called an iron-castle, a silver-castle, and a gold-castle. In animal nomenclature they are called a black lamb, a white lamb, and a red lamb. (Tait. S. 6, 2, 3; and 2, 1, 3). In *R.V.* 2, 12, 11 *Indra* is stated to have found out *Sambara* hidden in the mountains in the fortieth autumn and destroyed his 90, 99, or 100 castles (*R.V.* 1, 130, 7; 2, 19, 6; 4, 26, 3; 2, 14, 6; 4, 30, 2; 6, 31, 4.). This is the Vedic way of stating that there were 90 to 100 eclipses, both solar and lunar, observed in the course of 39 years and two months, which is equal to two cycles of 19 years. If the average for 39 years is about 100 eclipses, the average for thirteen years, which is one-third of 39, is 33 eclipses, sometimes it may be 34 or 35.

These eclipse-gods should, however, be distinguished from the gods of intercalary months known as *Dhātā*, *Aryamā*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, *Aṃśa*, *Bhaga*, and *Indra*, the eighth called *Mārtaṇḍa* having been rejected as still-born. The total number of these gods of intercalary months is said to amount to 720 in the course of 2280 years, which is equal to 120 cycles of 19 years each. The number of these gods would have come to 840, if the god of the seventh intercalary month in each cycle of 19 years is also counted. But only six were counted in each cycle. (*cf. Calcutta Review* for September 1942). The purpose for which the intercalary months are devised is to equalise the lunar months with the solar months so as to bring the sun and the moon together at the year-end, *i.e.*, to make the solar and the lunar years terminate on the new moon day. Hence, the cycle of 19 years is an eclipse-cycle and also luni-solar cycle. Likewise, the cycle of 33 years ($19 + 14 = 33$) is also a luni-solar cycle in which 33 lunar years with one intercalary year and 32 solar years terminate on the same day, *i.e.*, on a new-moon day. It is made of 19 years plus 7 intercalary months, plus 13 years, and plus 5 intercalary months, *i.e.*, 32 ordinary lunar years and one intercalary lunar year. Thus, the cycle of 19 years, 13 years, 39 years and two months are all lustrams or purificatory years; since seven, five, and 14 intercalary months called *Malamāśas* or dirty months are got rid of in those cycles. They were originally called *Kalpa* days, since the sun and the moon came into conjunction on the last day of those cycles.

On the basis of the definition of *Yugas*, *Manvantaras*, and *Kalpa* found in the *Purāṇas* and the *Amarakośa*, the original scheme of *Kalpas* may be recast as follows:—

- (1) A day and night make two units of time called day-*kalpa* and night-*kalpa* for men.

- (2) Two halves of 14 days each of a lunar month make day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for Fathers in heaven.
- (3) Two halves of a year make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for gods.
- (4) Seventy-one or seventy-two such *Yugas* or pairs of day-and-night-*kalpas* make a *Manvantara*.
- (5) Twice fourteen *Manvantaras* ($2 \times 14 \times 72$ days and nights) or two thousand *Yugas* or pairs of units of time make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for *Brahmā*, the Creator.
- (6) In other words, 1000 days or $2\frac{3}{4}$ lunar years with one intercalary month make a *Yuga* for men.
- (7) 14000 days or 1000 *Parva-yugas* with 14 intercalary months make a *Yuga* for Fathers in heaven.
- (8) 2000 *Ayana-yugas* or $2000 \times 6 \times 2 \times 14$, or $2 \times 2 \times 6 \times 14000$ days with 24×14 , or 333 intercalary months, or 940 years make a day-*kalpa* and a night-*kalpa* for the Creator. If we take a *Parva* to be equal to $14\frac{3}{4}$ days instead of 14 days, then the duration of a *Kalpa* would come to 500 years nearly or to 1000 years taking day-and-night-*kalpas* together. It should be particularly noticed how number seven forms an important factor in the above *kalpa* scheme. The verses of *Amara* are as follows :—

“*Māsenā syādahorātraḥ paitro-varṣeṇa daivataḥ.*
Daive yugasahasre dve Brāhmaḥ kalpau tu tau
nṛṇām.”

Manvantaram tu divyānām yugānāmekasaptatiḥ.”

It needs no explanation that this simple scheme of days, fortnights, months, years, lustrum of five years, with

eclipse-cycles of 19, 13, 39 years was transformed into huge *yugas*, *Manvantaras*, and *kalpas* of astronomical *Siddhāntas*.

The return of the sun and the moon to the same point with the same eclipse phenomena cycle after cycle or *kalpa* after *kalpa* is hinted in the R̥gvedic *Śunaśśepa-sūktas* or hymns addressed by *Śunaśśepa* to king *Varuṇa* for release from the sacrificial post to which he was tied to be sacrificed. Before taking up the verses it seems necessary to know the legend of *Śunaśśepa*, as given in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* :—

“King Hariścandra, son of Vedhas of Ikṣvāku line, was childless, although he had one hundred wives. In his house lived Parvata and Nārada. The latter advised the king to go to *Varuṇa* and say to him “May a son be born to me, and I shall sacrifice him to you.” *Varuṇa* said “Yes”. Accordingly, a son, named *Rohita*, was born, but the king put off the sacrifice from time to time saying (1) let the victim pass ten days (during which the child is impure in the *Sūtikāgrha*); (2) let his teeth come; (3) let his teeth fall out; (4) let his teeth come again; (5) and let him become a warrior (*Kṣatriya*) girt with his armour. *Varuṇa* granted all these requests successively. When he became a warrior the king asked him to consent to be sacrificed; but he said “No”; and taking his bow ran away to the forest and lived there for a year. *Varuṇa* seized Hariścandra whose belly thereupon swelled by dropsy. *Rohita* heard of this and five times he set out successively in the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth years to go back to his father; but each time *Indra* came in the form of a *Brāhmaṇa* and induced him not to go. While he was travelling in the forest in the sixth year, he met a starving *R̥ṣi*, named Ajīgartha, son of Sūyavaśa, a descendant of *Aṅgiras*. Ajīgartha had three sons, Śunaḥpuccha, Śunaśśepa, and Sunolāṅgūla. Purchasing

the middle son for a hundred cows (for the father would not part with the first and the mother with the last son), *Rohita* came to his father, who then went to *Varuṇa* and said: "I shall sacrifice this man to you". *Varuṇa* said: "All right; a *Brāhmaṇa* is better than a *Kṣatriya*". Then commenced the sacrifice called *Rājasūya*, in which *Viśvāmitra* officiated as the *Hotṛ*, *Jamadagni* as *Adhvaryu*, *Vasiṣṭha* as *Brahmā*, and *Ayāsyā* as *Udgātṛ*. They found no body to bind *Śunaśśepa* to the sacrificial post and kill him. His father *Ajīgartha* volunteered to do these acts for another hundred cows. He bound him and came whetting his sword. Then *Śunaśśepa* prayed to *Varuṇa* and other gods, and at last to the *Uṣas* in three verses, of which the first, as soon as he repeated, loosened the cord, the second thinned *Hariścandra's* belly, and the last completely liberated *Śunaśśepa* and made *Hariścandra* well again."

In my article entitled "*Test of the Eclipse-cycle*"¹ I showed how *Rohita* meant a lunar eclipse of *Piṅga* or yellowish colour occurring in each cycle of 1000 days. I see no reason why *Rohita* of the above story should not be taken to be a lunar eclipse of the same type. *Hariścandra*, as the name itself implies, is the moon, and his son *Rohita* can be no other than the same eclipsed moon, as the three eclipses of a cycle are usually called father, son, and grand-son (*R.V.* 1, 164. 1). I am inclined to take *Śunaśśepa*, and his two brothers to be the names of the same three lunar eclipses known as *Paṭara*, *Viklidha*, and *Piṅga*. Mr. Raja Rao, M.A., thinks that these are some three stars in the region of *Canis Major* and *Canis Minor*, the seven Bears, and the Dog-star, and that *Ajīgartha*, meaning a deep pit of a serpent, is *Aśleṣā*, the deity of which is *Ahi*, a serpent. As the lunar eclipses happened near these stars, they were also affected by the

¹ The *Poona Orientalist*, January, 1941.

shadow and made to pray to *Varuṇa* for release. It is of no consequence whether the eclipsed moon in the region of Cancer and Leo is called by these names or some three more stars near the Dog-star (*Sunāśīra*) in the same region are so called. What is of great importance is the occurrence of a lunar eclipse in that region, the sun being in the constellation called *Śatabhiṣaj* from which *Aśleṣā* and *Maghā* are the thirteenth and fourteenth asterisms, being 180 from the sun. The verses in which the identification of *Śunaśśepa* with one of these three eclipses occurring cycle after cycle is hinted are verses 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of *R. V.* 1, 24 and verse 8 of 1, 25.

‘Hundred, nay a thousand, are thy physicians; may thy great and deep good-will be noble; drive away *Nirriti* (Eclipse-demon) far; and remove my sinful bonds.

(The asterism, *Śatabhiṣaj*, whose deity is *Varuṇa*, is also meant here.)

‘Those Bears that are set up high in the sky are seen at night and go out somewhere during the day. Unaltered and uncontradicted are thy laws, O *Varuṇa*; and at night the moon goes to the *Nakṣatra* with lustre.

(The implication is that the moon is devoid of her usual lustre and that the Bears are not clearly visible, due to eclipse)

‘Therefore, I approach thee bowing with prayers; the same thing the sacrificer hopes to attain to by his food-offerings; O Praise-worthy *Varuṇa*, take this prayer to thy mind without anger; do not rob me of my life.

‘The same is the night; the same the day; so they say to me; the same thought rises in my breast; the same is King *Varuṇa* to whom *Śunaśśepa* once prayed for release when caught hold of before; I am the same *Śunaśśepa* that is now caught hold of and prays for release as before.

(Believing that *Śunaśśepa* is a human substitute for *Rohita* to be sacrificed, Skandasvāmī, the commentator, says—“*Ātītakalpe yaśśunaśśepa āsīt ahamēva saḥ gr̥bhītaḥ gr̥hītaḥ*”—‘the same *Śunaśśepa* who was once caught hold of in a former *Kalpa* of 1000 divine *Yugas* am I now in bonds on the same night of the same day of the same year in the present *Kalpa* of 1000 divine *Yugas*.’ For reasons set forth above I hold that this is a reference to the return of the same kind of *Rohita* eclipse in a second cycle of 1000 days in the sixth year.)

*Śunaśśepo hyahvadgr̥bhītastrīṣvādityaṃ drupadeṣu
baddhaḥ.*

*Avainaṃ rājā varuṇassasr̥jyādvīdvānadabdho
vimumoktu pāśān. 13*

‘(I), *Śunaśśepa* called upon thee, O *Varuṇa*, when I was bound to three posts (Foot-holds of the tree on three occasions before); May King *Varuṇa*, omniscient and unassailed, release the same *Śunaśśepa* from the bonds.’

Here the expression “*Trīṣu drupadeṣu*” means on three foot-holds of a tree, and not three ropes and one tree or post. Skandasvāmī says that though there is as a rule only one *Pāśa* or rope to bind the victim by its head to the post, the reference to three bindings, one round the neck, one round the loins, and one round the legs here is an exception in the case of a human victim like *Śunaśśepa* with a view to make him firm and unshaken at the time of slaughter. There is, however, no room for this objection raised and the explanation offered by the commentator. The text clearly mentions three foot-holds of a tree, implying three bindings on three different occasions. The acts performed in the sacrificial hall are, as I have

pointed out in the "Eclipse-cult", imitations of the eclipse phenomena observed in the sky. Accordingly, the heavenly victim corresponding to the human victim in the sacrificial hall is the eclipsed moon, as pointed out above. What then is the *Drupada* or foot-hold of the tree to which the eclipsed planet was believed to have been bound? It is the *Aśvattha* or *Pippala* tree which is described in *R.V.* 1, 164, 20 as the abode of the sun and the moon. Accordingly, it may be inferred that the *Pippal* tree was one of the constellations, through which the two planets make their yearly and monthly revolutions. While explaining Pāṇini IV. iii. 48 Vāsudeva Dikṣita, the author of *Bālaṃanoramā*, says that *Kālāpaka* means a debt payable at the time when pea-cocks have their feathers fully grown; *Aśvatthaka*, a debt payable at the time when the fruits of *Pippala* tree ripen; and *Yavabusaka*, a debt payable at the time when barley grains ripen. Again, while explaining Pāṇini IV. ii. 5 (*Sanjñāyām śravaṇāśvatthābhyām*) he says that *Aśvattha* means the constellation *Aśvinī*. Others take it to signify the asterism *Śravaṇā* on the authority of *Kāthaka Saṃhitā* identifying *Aśvattha* with *Śravaṇā*. This interpretation seems to be justifiable in as much as the *Aśvattha* tree bears fruit at the summer season when the moon becomes full in *Śravaṇā* and the sun arrives at *Puṣya*. At the time of Pāṇini the arrival of the sun at the constellation of *Puṣya* marked the time of summer season and summer solstice. Accordingly, if the asterism *Puṣya* marked the top of the *Aśvattha* tree, its root or foot must necessarily be in *Śravaṇā*. New moon at *Śravaṇā* marked the arrival of winter solstice and new moon at *Puṣya* the arrival of summer solstice. It is very well known that Pāṇini flourished at about B.C. 500 to 400, when Mahāvira, the author of *Sūryaprajñapti*, lived and preached Jainism. The *Vedāṅga-jyautiṣa* located the summer sols-

tice at the first half of *Aśleṣā* and the winter solstice at *Dhaniṣṭhā*. Making allowance for defective observations, late Svamikannu Pillae, the author of Indian Ephemeris, fixed the date of the *Jyautiṣa* at about 800 to 900 B.C. Others put it at 1200 to 1400 B.C. From this it follows that the solstices were at the end of *Aśleṣā* and the beginning of *Dhaniṣṭhā* at about 1300 to 1400 B.C. and that the same must have been located at the end of *Maghā* and the beginning of *Śatabhiṣaj* about 2200 B.C., and at the latter half of *Pūrvaphalgunī* and the first half of *Pūrvabhādrapada* at about B.C. 3100. This is in complete agreement with the conclusions arrived at by B. G. Tilak on consideration of the shifting of the vernal equinox from *Mṛgaśīrṣa* to *Kṛttikā*, and by Jacobi on consideration of the precession of the solstices from *Phalgunīs* to *Aśleṣā*.

There is also an additional proof furnished by the nomenclature of the constellations. The constellation of *Pūrvabhādrapada* is called *Aherbudhnya*, the tail of the serpent and the constellation of *Aśleṣā* is called *Ahi*. serpent. The reason why these *Nakṣatras* are called the tail and the mouth of the serpent seems to be the frequency of eclipses when the serpent *Svarbhānu* is believed to devour the sun at solar and the moon at lunar eclipses. If the serpent's mouth is *Aśleṣā*, then its tail, the other node, must necessarily be the asterism of *Dhaniṣṭhā*, which is 180 from it. Similarly, if the constellation of *Śatabhiṣaj* is the tail, then the mouth of the serpent or the ascending node must be the *Maghās*; and if the tail is *Pūrvabhādrapada*, then its mouth must be *Pūrvaphalgunī*. Similarly, *Uttarabhādrapada*, called *Ajā Ekapād* and *Uttaraphalgunī* can be the tail and mouth of the serpent. The situation of the solstices in *Pūrvabhādrapada* and *Pūrvaphalgunī* is mentioned in the hymn on *Rohita* in the *Atharvaveda*: it says that at one end of the thread

held by *Prajāpati* rested *Aja Ekapāda* and that the other end of the thread lay at *Pūrraphalgunī*.*

What deserves special attention in this connection is the significance and purpose of the sacrificial victims, such as a man, a horse, a cow, a goat, or sheep and the like. Unless we understand the nature of the dice-play, we cannot fully grasp the significance of the victims. In the dice-play there are two players with specified wager or stake laid before the umpire. The stage is called *Glaha* in Pāṇini (1. 3. 7) and in the *R̥gveda* it is called *Glabha*, a word which is derived from the root “*Grbh*” to take. The perfect participle “*Grbhīṣi*,” used in the *Śunaśśepa* hymn (1, 24, 12) meaning ‘taken as stake,’ is from the same root. In the dice-play in the sky the two players are the sun and the moon, as stated in *R̥. V. X. 18*. The stake laid by them must necessarily be their own person or their horses. If the player’s own person is laid as a stake, it seems to have been called *Nara*, cow, goat, or sheep in the ratio of decreasing value corresponding to the varying digits of the eclipse. The winner not only took the defeated person as a stake, but also tied the victim to a post in his own house to be disposed of at his own pleasure. The house in the case of the sun and the moon is either foot-hold or the top of *Aśvattha* tree. The form of the play is *Kṛta*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, or *Kali*. If the sun or the moon in the game of running made a *Kṛta-yuga* or a number of *Parvas* divisible by four with no remainder, then he is considered to be the winner, as agreed upon. In solar eclipse the moon is the winner and in the lunar the sun. The defeated planet is tied to the foot-hold or top of the *Vanaspati*, the *Aśvattha* tree, to be disposed of at the will of the winner. It is probable that if the eclipse was two *Padas* out of four-*padas*, i.e.,

* ‘Test of the Eclipse-cult,’ published in the *Poona Orientalist*, January, 1941.

half, it is called *Nara*, man standing on two *Padas* or legs; if it is of four *padas*, it is a cow. If very small, it is an *Avi*, sheep; the value of one kind of victim in terms of other victims requires further investigation.

It is a game of *Tretā*, if the number of *Farvas* run leaves a remainder of three when divided by four; it is *Dvāpara*, if it leaves a remainder of two when divided by four; and it is called *Kali*, if it leaves a remainder of one when divided by four.

An eclipse is regarded not merely as game of dice-play or race of running, but also a battle between the gods led by the sun or the moon, and the demons under the lead of *Śambara*, *Vṛtra*, *Nirriti*, and others of various names, when the defeated planet is searched and caught hold of to be bound to the victory pillar or set at liberty on payment of an adequate ransom of the value of a horse, a cow, a goat, a sheep, a slave, or a woman, or gold or a valuable cloth-piece. Sometimes, it is also conceived as an act of devouring one of the two planets by *Svarbhānu* and the release of the swallowed is considered to be effected by incantation and power of prayer or *Vāk*, song, in Vedic terminology.

The binding of *Śunaśśepa* thrice in his former births in one or three former *Kalpas* and the recurrence of the same binding in the present *Kalpa* referred to in verse 12 is no more than the recurrence of the *Rohita*-type of the three eclipses of the previous cycle of 1000 days. This is also implied in the 8th verse of the 25th hymn of the first *Maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* :—

‘May king *Varuṇa* who is omniscient and who is unopposed release the same *Śunaśśepa* from the ropes (*Pāśas*). *Varuṇa* knows full well the twelve productive months and also that which comes into being along with them.’

The twelve productive months are the usual twelve months of a year and the month which is said to come along with them is the unproductive intercalary month which is called *Mala-māsa* or unclean month infested with *Nirriti* and other evil spirits. The simple contrivance which the Vedic poets had devised to ascertain the arrival of an eclipse-season was the luni-solar *Yuga* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years or more correctly 1000 days. The usual average number of eclipses for 1000 days is three, as already pointed out. Of these three one is called *Rohita* or one of reddish yellow which according to the express statement of the *Tait. Āraṇyaka* (1, 2) recurs in every cycle of 1000 days. This is the minor *Kalpa* while the major *Kalpa* is 1000 *Farva Yugas* of 14000 days equal to two cycles of 19 years each or 39 solar years and two months which we may call a *Sambara* cycle of eclipses.

From this it follows that a *Kalpa* in its origin meant an eclipse-cycle of nearly 19 years and not a period of 1000 divine *Yugas* of 4,32,0000 years, as believed by the commentator Skandasvāmī and the authors of the astronomical *Siddhāntas*.

The search for a gambler who has run away after being vanquished is mentioned in *R.V.* X. 43. 5 :—

As a gambler searches (*vicinoti*) his escaped adversary, so does Indra go in quest of the sun who concealing his wealth (*samvarga*) hid himself. No one, O Maghavan, ancient or modern, is able to imitate this thy vigour.

A FAKE (?) "BHAGAVADGĪTĀ" MS.

BY DR. S. K. BELVALKAR

The search for the "original" *Bhagavadgītā* continues to be a problem as intriguing as ever. The search has followed along two main lines. The first sets forth as its goal a poem considerably reduced in size and conveying 'unitary and self-consistent' teaching. The second essays to present the world with a poem that should agree with a recorded description of its contents,¹ which makes it a poem of 745 instead of the present 700 stanzas. But what definite and compelling evidence have we to imagine that the *Bhagavadgītā* proper was at any time different originally from what we know it to be ever since the days of the commentator Śaṅkara (cir. 800 A.D.)?

That the present poem is far too lengthy for being recited on the battle-field; that it is far too technical in some places, and far too prolix in others; that its teaching and terminology are not self-consistent and have evoked a battle royal amongst the *Bhāṣyakāras*; that in places we can even catch the interpolator red-handed: such are some of the arguments urged by those that stand for an "original" *Gītā*, which Garbe at first sought to recover by cutting off, on alleged philological or objective grounds, some 172 stanzas from the current *Gītā*, and which eventually was made out by his pupil R. Otto to contain just 133 stanzas and no more. The various proofs in detail cannot be gone into in this place.² By

¹ The well-known stanza and a half included in the *Gītā-praśasti* found at the beginning of Chapter 43 of the *Bhīṣmaparvan* in the Nilakaṇṭha recension of the *Mahābhārata*.

² See my Basu Mallik Lectures (1929), Pt. i, pp. 94—100; and "Examination of Otto's attempted Stratification of the BG," 1937.

way of a general remark we can say that the author of the *Mahābhārata* composed the *Bhagavadgītā* after the heat of the battle had subsided: and as the *Mahābhārata* was designed to be a Dharmaśāstra, the author gave through our poem his own exposition of the Philosophy of Right Conduct, which, naturally, could not have been altogether non-technical. Further, if—as is likely—the author attempted in that exposition to give a coherent synthesis of the divergent viewpoints current at the time, our understanding of the author will be correct only if we catch the synthetist's exact angle of vision. This has not unfortunately always been the case.³

The champions of the *Bhagavadgītā* of 745 stanzas had a much simpler problem to deal with. The earliest in the field (1917) was the *Śuddha-Dharma-Maṇḍala-Gītā* of 26 chapters, which was alleged to be based upon an actual MS.,⁴ the antiquity and authenticity of which have not been properly examined and established. The latest in the field (1941) is the so-called "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* edited 'from an old MS.' by Pandit Kalidas Śāstrī, the Rājāvaidya of Gondal. In between came Pandit R. M. Shastri's attempt⁵ grounded on the supposition that by *Śloka* we have to understand 32 syllables; and my own attempt⁶ to prove that the traditionally recorded extent belongs not to the *Bhagavadgītā* alone, but to the *BG* and the *Gītāsūtra taken together*, which, actually, in some old *Mbh.* MSS. and in the Persian translation of the Epic are found given

³ In my *BORI* Silver Jubilee series of Twentyfive Lectures (now in press) some of the commoner defects in the current interpretation of the *BG* are discussed.

⁴ On this see F. Otto Schrader's paper in the *New Indian Antiquary*, I. i, pp. 62—68.

⁵ *Allahabad University Studies*, XII (Arts and Science), pp. 66—82. On it see S. N. Tadpatrikar's paper in the *Annals, BORI*, Vol. xviii, pp. 357—360.

⁶ "The Bhagavadgītā 'Riddle' Unriddled," *Annals, BORI*, Vol. xix, Pt. iv, pp. 335-348.

together in immediate succession.—The object of the present paper is to examine the claim of the "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* to be the "original" *Gītā* of 745 stanzas.

The *Bhagavadgītā* given in this edition follows the so-called Kashmir Recension of the poem, which the same editor had published from Gondal in 1937. In the Introduction to that edition the editor had written :

"Our one great ambition is to secure the text containing 745 stanzas. Our MS. contains 7 or rather $7\frac{1}{2}$ additional stanzas. It now remains for us to discover the 37 or 38 stanzas missing from the speech of Śrīkṛṣṇa (p. 11) We have undertaken to complete the missing stanzas of the *Gītā*. For this purpose we are sending for the copies of all these MSS. We are receiving much help from our grand Pandit Shri Hariramji Panchodi in securing old MSS. of the *Gītā* in Sanskrit or Persian. On securing the wanting MSS. of the *Gītā*, the work of completing the missing stanzas will be accelerated (p. 25)."

This urgent demand was bound to create a supply, and it was the same Pandit H. Pancholi mentioned in the above passage who came forward with a birch-bark MS definitely dated (*Sam.* 1665) and answering in every detail to the specifications demanded. After carefully examining the text of the *Bhagavadgītā* as presented by this MS. I have come to the conclusion that it is a "fake" MS. Benares has had the unenviable reputation of being the manufacturing place of fake coins, fake images, and fake antiquities of all sorts. We had no idea that the trade would spread to so ancient and revered a text as the *Bhagavadgītā*. Some of the main arguments warranting such a conclusion will be briefly stated here.⁷

⁷ I have given a fuller treatment in the *Puruṣārtha*, a Marathi monthly, for March, 1942.

The birch-bark MS, which is paraded before the world with much ado is, in the first place, not written (as is the case with old and genuine birch-bark MSS.), in *Śāradā* characters, but in *Devanāgarī* characters. Apparently, writing in old *Śāradā* characters proved too much for the Benares scribe who produced the MS. The *Devanāgarī* is written with *Prṣṭhamātrās*, which was easy enough to do. The date of writing given at the end of the MS. is marked by such extreme mathematical accuracy that that itself creates a suspicion. The date runs thus :

“विक्रमसंवत् १६६५, माघ कृष्ण १, प्रतिपदी मन्दवासरे ।”

According to the North-Indian mode of reckoning,

• गतसंवत् १६६५ माघ कृष्ण १ = प्रवर्तमान संवत् १६६६, पौष कृष्ण १ ।

The Full-moon preceding this *Pratipadā* falls on a Saturday (मन्दवासरे) so that one expects the *Pratipadā* itself to be on a Sunday. But the Full-moon *Tithi* in question ends with the sunset and the *Pratipadā* commences on the same Saturday after sunset. If therefore we imagine that the copying of the MS. went on in daytime and was concluded at night, we have the Saturday as well as the *Pratipadā*, and the data tally to a T. We wonder if an ordinary scribe would exactly bear in mind when the *Tithi* changed and make the entry so minutely accurate.

The text given by this new *Gītā* boldly accepts the text of the Gondal edition of 1937, preserving all its peculiarities and even blunders,⁸ particularly in the matter of arbitrarily making a stanza consist of 2 or 6 quarters (*pādas*), without stopping to consider whether the sense-

⁸ Thus, in *BG*, xv, 13 the Gondal edition reads मामाविश्य for मामाविश्य which gives no sense at all. The “*Bhojapatrī*” text (xv. 15) gives the same reading! Naturally they could not afford to sacrifice the importance of the Gondal edition by correcting its mistakes!

completion requires such shorter or longer stanzas. As the 1937 Gondal text adopted the Kashmirian recension, the "*Bhojapatrī*" edition adopts the same. But I have shown in detail⁹ that the Kashmirian Recension is secondary and late, because it systematically tries to normalize the archaic grammar and syntax of the current text. The claim of such a *Gītā* to be considered the "original" *Gītā* stands *ipso facto* refuted by all the accepted canons of text-criticism.

The greatest bungle of the "*Bhojapatrī*"-*Gītā* is, however, the frantic way in which it introduces all sorts of quotations from the *Upaniṣads*, old and new, to make up the full quota of Śrīkṛṣṇa's stanzas. There are full 37 such quotations, which we enumerate here *seriatim* :

—After ii. 17 we have :

आदावन्ते च यन्नास्ति वर्तमानेऽपि तत् तथा ।
वितथैः सदृशाः सन्तोऽवितथा इव लक्षिताः ॥

The stanza disturbs the context. The body may have a beginning and an end, but the *BG* nowhere says that therefor the middle state of the body is illusory or *Māyika*. The stanza occurs in the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* ii. 6 and iv. 31. For the *BG* to quote these *Kārikās*, commonly attributed to *Gauḍapāda*, seems utterly unhistorical.

—After ii. 70 the following three stanzas are found :

यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः ।
विजामतामविज्ञातं विज्ञातमविजानताम् ॥
प्रतिबोधेन तद्ब्रह्म विदित्वा लभ्यतेऽमृतम् ।
ब्रह्म लब्ध्वा नैव किञ्चिल्लब्धव्यमवशिष्यते ॥
ब्रह्मज्ञानं ब्रह्मलाभ एकमेव द्विधोदितम् ।
ज्ञात्वा लब्ध्वाथवा ह्येतत् शान्तिमाप्नोति शाश्वतीम् ॥

⁹ Compare my Introduction to the *Bhagavadgītā* with the *Anandavardhinī*, pp. 18—21.

The first is with slight variation *Kena Upaniṣad* ii. 3, and the first half of the second is influenced by *Kena* ii. 4, and the second half by *BG* vii. 2. The last has not so far been traced; but it endorses the “*Anirracanāya-vāda*” which has not been so outspokenly endorsed by the *Bhagaradgītā*.

—After ii. 7 are given the following three stanzas :

यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा यस्य (? येऽस्य) हृदि स्थिताः ।
 स भवत्यमृतो मर्त्यो ब्रह्म चात्र समश्नुते ॥
 यदा सर्वे प्रमिद्यन्ते हृदयस्येह ग्रन्थयः ।
 स भवत्यमृतो मर्त्य एतावदनुशासनम् ॥
 भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिश्छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशयाः ।
 क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥

These stanzas, with slight variations, are in order *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* ii. 3. 14, ii. 3. 15, and *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* ii. 2. 8. The stanzas endorse the doctrine of “*Sadyom-ukti*,” which would go against the *BG* insistence upon the *Jñānin* following the ordinary *Vyavahāra* in a mood of equipoise.

—After iii. 40 of the current text we find :

इन्द्रियेभ्यः परं चेतः चेतसः सत्त्वमुत्तमम् ।
 सत्त्वादथ महानात्मा महतोऽव्यक्तमुत्तमम् ॥
 अव्यक्तात् तु परं ब्रह्म व्यापकं चाप्यलिङ्गकम् ।
 यज्ज्ञात्वा मुच्यते जीवो ह्यमृतत्वं च गच्छति ॥

These stanzas correspond to *Kaṭha* ii. 3. 7-8, which give the well-known “*Ratha-rūpaka*” (already given in its simpler form in *Kaṭha* i. 3. 10), in a later and more technical form. The *BG* having already quoted the simpler form of the metaphor at the end of Chapter iii. would not again quote the other form.

—After iii. 41 of the current text we read :

इन्द्रियाणां पृथग्भावमुदयास्तमयौ च यौ ।
 पृथगुत्पद्यमानानां ज्ञात्वा धीरो न शोचति ॥

The remarks made with reference to the previous quotation hold good more or less in this case also.

—After iv. 23 of the current text is quoted :

अहमन्नं सदान्नाद इति हि ब्रह्मवेदनम् ।

ब्रह्मविद् असति ग्रासात् (? ज्ञानात्) सर्वं ब्रह्मात्मनैव हि ॥

The first half of the above is equal to *Pāsupatabrahmopaniṣad* 38^{cd}, while the second half is 39^{ab} of the same *Upaniṣad*. It is wide of the context. It is also doubtful if the *BG* would contain quotation from such a late tract.

—After iv. 41 of the current text is found :

यथा रविः सर्वरसान् प्रभुङ्क्ते

हुताशनश्चापि हि सर्वभक्षः ।

तथैव योगी विषयान् प्रभुङ्क्ते

न लिप्यते पुण्यपापैश्च शुद्धः ॥

This is stanza 6 of the *Avadhūta Upaniṣad*, in which the well-known stanza, "Na nirodho na cotpattiḥ" (cf. *Gauḍapāḍakārikā* ii. 32), is also found. The work is much too late for being quoted in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

—After vi. 28 the following two stanzas are inserted :

स ब्रह्मा स शिवः सेन्द्रः सोऽक्षरः परमः स्मृतः ।

स एव विष्णुः स प्राणः स कालाग्निः स चन्द्रमाः ॥

स एव सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यं सनातनम् ।

ज्ञात्वा तं मृत्युमत्येति नान्यः पन्था विमुक्तये ॥

These, with slight variations, equal *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 8-9. The *Upaniṣad* is old enough for being quoted in the *BG*, but is it not surprising that no indication of the quotation is found in all the available genuine MSS. and in the oldest available commentaries?

—After vi. 29, of the current text, first half, room is made for :

संपश्यन् ब्रह्म परमं याति नान्येन हेतुना ।

This is equal to *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 14^{cd}, the *BG* having already quoted i. 10^{ab} as *BG* vi. 29^{ab}. If the

Gītā wanted to quote both the halves, it would not have composed a new half of its own with a separate verb “*īkṣate*”, which remains, in the “*Bhojapatrī*” text, syntactically unconnected.

—After vi. 29 of the current text is quoted :

आत्मानमरणिं कृत्वा प्रणवं चोत्तरारणिम् ।
ज्ञाननिर्मथनाभ्यासात् पापं दहति पुरुषः ॥

which is equal to *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 11.

—After vi. 30 of the current text :

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतानि आत्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥

is quoted, which is equal to stanza 6 of the *Īśa Upaniṣad*,

—After vii. 23 of the current text the following half stanza is inserted just to complete the half stanza,

सिद्धान् यान्ति सिद्धव्रताः ।
भूतान् भूतयजो यान्ति ॥

already found in the Kashmirian recension :

‘यज्ञान् विद्याधरान् यान्ति गन्धर्वास्तत्परायणाः ।

—After viii. 8 of the current text is found :

यथा नद्यः स्यन्दमानाः समुद्रे
गच्छन्त्यस्तं नामरूपे विहाय ।
तथा विद्वान् नामरूपाद्विमुक्तः
परात् परं पुरुषमुपैति दिव्यम् ॥

This, with slight variations, is *Mundaka Upaniṣad* iii. 2. 8.

—After viii. 11 of the current text we find the following long citation from *Kena Upaniṣad* i. 4-8, and *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* i. 2. 16-17 :

यच्च वाचा नाभ्युदितमभ्युद्यते च येन वाक् ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
मनुते यन्न मनसा येनाहुर्मनो मतम् ।
तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥

यच्चक्षुषा न पश्यति येन चक्षूषि पश्यन्ति ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 शृणोति यन्न श्रोत्रेण येन श्रोत्रमिदं श्रुतम् ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 प्राणीति यन्न प्राणेन प्राणः प्राणीयते यतः ।
 तदेव ब्रह्म त्वं विद्धि नेदं यदिदमुपासते ॥
 एतद्ध्येवान्तरं ब्रह्म एतदेवामृतं परम् ।
 एतदेवाव्ययं ज्ञात्वा यो यदिच्छेत् तदाप्नुयात् ॥
 एतदालम्बनं श्रेष्ठमेतदालम्बनं परम् ।
 एतदालम्बनं ज्ञात्वा प्राप्नोति परमां गतिम् ॥

At this rate space could have been found for any number of stanzas! The device is much too ingenuous to pass muster.

—After viii. 13 of the current text are cited the following :

तदेतदक्षरं ब्रह्म स प्राणो वाङ्मनश्च सः ।
 तत् सत्यममृतं चैव तद्विद्धि भरतर्षभ ॥
 प्रणवो धनुः शरो ह्यात्मा ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते ।
 अग्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यं शरवत् तन्मयो भवेत् ॥
 धनुर्यहीत्वैवमिदं महास्त्रं शरं ह्युपासानिशितं विधाय ।
 आयम्य तद्भागवतेन धीरो लक्ष्यं तदेवान्तरमित्यवैहि ॥

These correspond to *Mundaka Upaniṣad* ii. 2, 2, 4, and 3 (in this order), and credit is due for the changes made into the original wording of the *Upaniṣad* to make them suit the *BG* context. Thus,

Tad veddhavyam somya viddhi of the *Upaniṣad* becomes :

Tad viddhi Bharatarṣabha in the *Bhagavadgītā*;

Dhanur grhītvā upaniṣadam of the *Upaniṣad* becomes :

Dhanur grhītvāivam idaṃ in the *Bhagavadgītā*.

Noteworthy also is the alteration of

bhāvagatena cetasā into *Bhāgavatena dhīro*.

—After ix. 28 of the current text we read the next two stanzas, which are respectively *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* i. 6 and *Kaivalya* i. 7^{ab} + 1.5^{ad}:

अचिन्त्यमव्यक्तमनन्तरूपं
 शिवं प्रशान्तममृतं ब्रह्मयोनिम् ।
 तमादिमध्यान्तविहीनमेकं
 विभुं चिदानन्दमरूपमद्भुतम् ॥
 उमासहायं परमेश्वरं प्रभुं त्रिलोचनं नीलकण्ठं प्रशान्तम् ।
 हृत्पुण्डरीके विरजं विशुद्धं संचिन्तयेद्ब्रह्मरूपं विशोकम् ॥

These stanzas can bear evidence to the devotion for God Śiva of some residents of Benares, but they do not fit in with the *Gītā* context.

—After xi. 31 of the current text we read :

नारायणोऽहं पुरुषः शिवोऽहं
 ब्रह्माहमस्मि सकलोऽहमस्मि ।
 पूर्णोऽहमीशश्च पुरातनोऽहं
 हिरण्ययो ज्ञानरूपोऽहमस्मि ॥

Kaivalya stanza 20 is in some MSS read like this¹⁰; but as a reply to Arjuna's question it is not apposite. —The extra initial stanza which opens *BG*, chapter xiii, is generally put in the mouth of Arjuna (with the reading *Etad veditum icchāmi* in the third *pāda*); but it is given here as Kṛṣṇa's own stanza, read as :

प्रकृतिं पुरुषं चैव क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञमेव च ।
 एतत् ते कथयिष्यामि ज्ञानं ज्ञेयं च भारत ॥

—After xiii. 21 of the current text is given :

प्रशासितारं सर्वेषामखीयांसमणोरपि ।
 स्वकामं स्वप्रधीगम्यं जानीयात् पुरुषं परम् ॥

This is from the *Bharasantarāṇa Upaniṣad* ii. 42, which is not even included in the *Muktika* Canon of 108 *Upaniṣads*.

—After xv. 4, of the current text is met :

संप्राप्यैतमुषयो ज्ञानतृताः
 कृतात्मानो वीतरागाः प्रशान्ताः ।

¹⁰ See उपनिषदां समुच्चयः in the *Anandashram Sanskrit Series*, p. 109, footnote.

ते सर्वगं सर्वतः प्राप्य वीरा
युक्तात्मानः सर्वमेवाविशन्ति ॥

which equals, with slight variation, *Muṇḍaka* iii. 2. 5.
—After xv. 5 is inserted :

वेदान्तविज्ञानविनिश्चितार्थाः
संन्यासयोगेन च शुद्धसत्त्वाः ।
ते ब्रह्मलोके च परान्तकाले
परामृताः परिमुच्यन्ति दुःखात् ॥

This stanza is equal to *Muṇḍaka* iii. 2. 6 is equal to
Kaivalya i. 3^{ed} + 1.4^{ab}

—After xv. 15 of the current text room is made for :

न पुण्यपापे मम नास्ति नाशो
न जन्मदेहेन्द्रियबुद्धिरस्ति ।
न भूमिरापो मम वह्निरस्ति
न चानिलो मेऽस्ति न चाम्बरं च ॥

The first half of the stanza equals *Kaivalya* ii. 3^{ed}, while
the latter half equals *Kaivalya* ii. 4^{ab}. Immediately
after the above stanza is inserted :

एवं विदित्वा परमात्मरूपं गुहाशयं निष्कलमद्वितीयम् ।
समस्तसद्भिः सदसद्विहीनं प्रयाति शुद्धं परमात्मरूपम् ॥

the first half of which equals *Kaivalya* ii. 4^{ed}, and the
second half, *Kaivalya* ii. 5^{ab}.

* * * *

Comment on an "original" *Bhagavadgītā* text concocted in the above fashion is quite superfluous. If this was the original *Gītā*, we have every right to ask why it had remained unknown to all the *Bhāṣyakāras* all these centuries. To me it seems obvious that the Gondal editor as well as (possibly) his Benares agent, Pandit Pancholi, have been the victims of a clever and unscrupulous deception, which it has become almost a sacred duty to expose. I am, however, willing to hear the arguments on the other side.

TWO SANSKRIT MEMORANDA OF 1787

BY MR. S. N. SEN

A masterful person was Warren Hastings. Intent on having his own way in everything he rode roughshod over all opposition reasonable or perverse. It is needless to say that he was not always right, nor did he receive impartial justice from contemporary critics in every instance. His autocratic methods, fully justified as they were by success, naturally made many enemies who thwarted in India, carried their propaganda at home to the greater prejudice of their powerful opponent's interest and Hastings found himself impeached for his alleged misdemeanours after his return to England. His strong rule however had won for him the goodwill and admiration of many Indians, and they hastened to testify to the great qualities of the illustrious pro-consul when the news reached this country. Four testimonials about Hastings's solicitude for the welfare of the Company's subjects came from Benares alone. The first of these bore two hundred and seventy-seven seals of the notables of the holy city including the Maharaja and attested to the uncommon prudence, rectitude, ability, understanding and courtesy of Hastings. This memorandum was evidently drawn up in Persian, the language of the elegant and the élite. The fourth memorandum was in Hindusthani written in Gujarati character and gave expression to the high esteem in which Hastings was held by the rich bankers of "the New Putty quarters" and the wealthy merchants of Benares. The second and the third testimonials are reproduced below. They bore numerous signatures and

referred in general terms to what Hastings had done to earn their gratitude.

Apart from their historical value these two documents have a special interest for us as they were composed in a language known only to the learned few. We do not propose to discuss here whether Sanskrit was ever a spoken language. That it served as a *lingua franca* for the people of India long after it had ceased to be a living language cannot be gainsaid. Hindu princes belonging to different parts of the country and speaking different vernaculars found in Sanskrit a suitable and convenient medium for diplomatic correspondence in the last decades of the seventeenth century and donatory grants and inscriptions still continued to be made in the language which seems to have gained in sanctity by lapse of time. These two memoranda go a long way to prove, if any proof is needed, that Sanskrit still served to furnish a linguistic bond among the Hindus of India.¹ The 178 signatories of one memorandum came from the distant provinces of Maharashtra and Gujarat and were officially described as "Paṇḍits of Maharashtra and Nāgara and other Brahmins at Benares." The 112 subscribers of the other testimonial are inaccurately alluded to as Bengal Paṇḍits. The names leave no doubt that all of them did not come from Bengal, nor was every one of these signatories a Brāhmin by caste and all the Brāhmins who came forward to record their evidence in Hastings's favour could not claim to be Sanskrit scholars. Mannu Vijhat, Rāmnath Vijhat and Ausan Misra are not Bengali names and probably belonged to the adjoining province of Bihar historically associated with the bigger and more important

¹ There are about a dozen Sanskrit letters dating from the late 18th to the early nineteenth century in the custody of the Imperial Record Department at New Delhi. Sanskrit as a medium of correspondence was not, therefore, completely abandoned until recently.

Suba. Kāshīnāth Maithila very likely hailed from the Darbhanga region. Bihari Charan Sil, Sant Singh, Vishwanath Ghosh, Ram Sundar Shahu, Krishnamohan Das and Ram Shankar Basu could not be Brahmins. They were indiscriminately grouped together as Bengali Pandits probably because they had all subscribed to a statement in Sanskrit, a language commonly confined to the priestly caste. While the memorialists from Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar and Bengal used as a common tongue they did not use a common script. The former wrote in Devanagari but the latter preferred the Bengali character with which they were more familiar. It is not unlikely that the Sils, Ghoshes and Basus were quite innocent of a script in which the learned alone revelled. It may be noted here that the original signatures have been lost and we have at present a list of signatories in Arabic letters appended to the Persian translation.

The residents and outsiders, settled at the holy city of *Viśveśwara*, naturally belonged to all stations of life. Some of them were humble pilgrims and unostentatious seekers of learning while a good few must have been men of wealth and influence. We find for instance the name of Jai Narayan Ghosal among the Bengalee memorialists. But rich and poor, learned and unlettered, scrupulously refrained from questions of high politics and referred only to those specific acts of the ex-Governor-General which were particularly calculated to benefit the pilgrims, *e.g.*, the suppression of the undue and illegal exactions of the *Gangaputras* or the officiating priests, the new facilities for the free and unhampered performance of their religious rites, the appointment of Ali Ibrahim Khan as Chief Magistrate of Benares, and last but not least the construction of a *naubat khana* or music gallery near the gateway of the *Viśveśwara* temple. This must have specially appealed to the average Hindu

as a particularly meritorious act. Hastings had the imagination of a real statesman and knew how to win the golden opinion of the man in the street. If he had deprived the holy city of its Hindu ruler he was not long in proving that neither the deity nor his devotees were out of his mind and their needs would always receive his earnest attention. His unchristian homage to a pagan god probably did the greatest credit to this christian ruler.

What proportion of the outsiders settled at Benares subscribed to these memorials is difficult to ascertain at this distance of time. The special sanctity of the holy city had from time immemorial attracted myriads of pilgrims from all parts of India. Benares, moreover, enjoyed the eminence of being the greatest seat of Sanskrit learning and thousands of ambitious students flocked there to seek the distinction which the city of *Viśveśwara* alone could confer. There must have been therefore a large floating population of pilgrims, professors and pupils of whom the 290 persons who made their written deposition must have formed an infinitesimal fraction. According to Prinsep, there were no less than 11,311 Maharashtra, 1,231 Nagara and 3,000 Bengali residents at Benares in 1828-29 or fifty years after the submission of the memorials and it is interesting to note that one thousand *gangaputras* ministered to the spiritual needs of 1,22,365 Hindus at that date.

It may be pertinently enquired whether these testimonies were really free and voluntary. It is to be noted that Ali Ibrahim Khan forwarded these four memorials to Mr. Jonathan Duncan "in order that he might in his kindness forward them to the Council at Calcutta and request in behalf of the inhabitants that the beneficent gentlemen of the Council having caused the addresses to be translated . . . would send both the originals and the

translations to the Presence of the Hon'ble Directors."² Mr. Duncan however was on his guard and refused to have anything to do with these documents as they had "no relation with the Business of the Company." The papers were thereupon sent to Hastings's attorney, Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson approached the Governor-General-in-Council with a request that he may be permitted to receive such written testimonies as the native inhabitants of the Company's territories may be willing to bear to the merits of Mr. Hastings and that the Judges, Collectors and residents under the Presidency may be requested to transmit any such testimony to the Governor-General-in-Council.³ This request was complied with but the Company's servants were plainly warned that "the liberty now accorded is merely to receive and transmit testimonials when offered and you are not to deduce any inference from it that you are authorised to exercise any further interference in the business."⁴ It is therefore clear that the Governor-General-in-Council were not prepared to countenance any undue zeal on the part of their officers in securing any testimony in Hastings's favour. They were simply to act as a post office when any memorial was voluntarily submitted. Mr. Duncan's attitude was one of rigid neutrality if not of rigid indifference.

Ali Ibrahim Khan on the contrary was a friend and protégé of Warren Hastings. It is not unlikely that he might have exerted himself in securing these testimonials from the citizens of Benares. It is evident from his own letter that he did not share Mr. Duncan's indifference in this matter. As the Chief Magistrate of the city he had

² Ali Ibrahim Khan to Thompson, *Public Consultations*, 31 March, 1788, No. 14.

³ Letter dated 2nd March, 1788.

⁴ Circular letter from Mr. E. Hay, *Public Consultations*, 31 March, 1788, No. 16.

exceptional opportunities of bringing some pressure upon the grandees, bankers and residents of humbler status if he was so inclined and the glowing terms in which our memorialists refer to the unique qualities of the head and heart with which the Khan was richly endowed may lead an over-sophisticated reader to suspect that these documents were probably designed as much to flatter the magistrate as to exonerate the ex-Governor-General from unmerited aspersions. Jai Narain Ghoshal also might not have been absolutely uninterested in Hastings's fate though he figures rather low on the list. The memorialists however steered clear of controversial measures and questions of high policy; their testimony is strictly limited to facts within their own knowledge and there is no reason to suggest that it was not given of their free will because Ali Ibrahim Khan took a natural, if indiscreet, interest in the preparation and transmission of these documents.

The Pandits speak of the rare kindness which they received from Hastings during his second visit to Benares. A sincere patron of oriental learning Hastings must have received his learned guests with spontaneous courtesy which made a lasting impression on them and when the memorials were drafted the scholars of the South, West and East readily agreed to pay a special tribute to the charming manners of the Governor-General. It may, therefore, reasonably be concluded that the two documents quoted below truly reflect the genuine feeling of the signatories though the idea of bearing public testimony to Warren Hastings's character and achievements might have emanated from men of rank and wealth.

1. Copy of the Memorandum drawn up by the Maharashtra, Nagara and other Brahmins of Benares (written in Devanāgarī Character).

युग-कृत-धृति १८४४ तुल्ये विक्रमादब्द-वृ'दे गतवति नवपू-

खाव्यष्टि १७०६ संख्ये शकाख्ये । अधिगुहतिथि ६ शुक्ले
 कार्तिके शुक्रवारे कृतमिदमिह पत्रं काशिकाख्यात-लो-
 कैः वयं जना वाराणसी-वासिनः प्रवासिनश्चात्र सं-
 प्राप्ता याथातथ्येन ब्रूमः गवर्नर-जनरल-वारन-हिष्टिस-
 साहेवाख्य-विभु-वर-कृपा-संभार-शिष्टाचार-कलित-कतिप-
 य-कारणैः संतुष्टा हृष्टाश्च वर्त्तामहे इति । तेषु च कारणेषु
 ॥ स निखिल-देशीय-चातुर्वर्ण्य-महत्तीर्थ-रुगायाः श्रीवि-
 श्वेश्वर-नगर्या वसति-स्वास्थ्य-निरूपणेय (sic) लंकृतवानिति
 प्रथमम् स-सुखं स-मानं चास्मान्स्वराज्ये स्थापितवानि-
 ति द्वितीयम् यात्रिणश्च गङ्गापुत्र-महोपद्रवभियाल्प-
 तरा अत्रागच्छन्ति (sic) स्म तदुपद्रवानुपशमितवानित्यभूत-पू-
 र्व-स्वकार्य-सोकर्यं विचार्य निरस्त-समस्त-साध्वसाः सकल-ज-
 नपद-यात्रिणः स्फुराः साम्प्रतं सुखं समायान्तीति तृतीयं
 वाराणस्यास्संरक्षणाय न्याय-निर्णयाय च सुज्ञ-न्यायवि-
 न्निलोभं नवाय अली इब्राहीम खानं शास्तारं प्रतिष्ठापितवा-
 न् चातुर्वर्ण्य-विवाद-विवेचनाय वरीयांसो द्विज-विद्वांसस्त-
 दितरतन्निर्णयाय च यवनास्ते तिष्ठेयुरिति देशस्थ-समस्त-
 जनानुरंजन-सुखाकरण-दृढतर-नियोगगर्भमाज्ञापत्रं
 • तस्मायर्पितवान् स च शास्ता सर्वेषामधिकारिणामुत्को-
 च-दण्डाद्युपादान-प्रतिषेधेन राज-वलवंड (sic) सिंह-चेतसिंह-
 राज्यादधिकतरं प्रजाः सुखयतीति चतुर्थं पुनश्चात्र स-
 मागतः पीनयशा गवर्नर-मिस्तर-हिष्टीनोत्रत्य-शिष्टजन-
 समागम-समये साधु-मधुर-संलापापार-कृपासाराचाराचर-
 णैर्यथायथ-सर्व-सम्मान-विधान-प्रतिपालन-परैर्वहिरन्तः-
 करणैः सर्व-जन-मनस्तोष्यतिस्मेति पंचमम् अस्म-
 जनामन्दानन्द-सम्पादनाय सर्व-तीर्थ-शिरोमणि-श्रीमद्वि-
 श्वेश्वर-द्वारि स्ववसु-व्ययेन विशाल-वादित्रायतनं का-
 रितवानिति षष्ठम् प्रजापालन-परिपाठ्य-परित्यागे
 न सर्वथा लोभदृष्ट्यसृष्ट्या कदापि कस्यचिदपि हानिं ने-
 हितवानिति सप्तमम् इत्थं मिस्तर-हिष्टिस जलाद-
 ज्जंग-सुनीलि-प्रीति-रीतय ऋतोदिताः पादशाह-कम्पनी-
 यशांसि शारदेन्दुवन्निखिलाशा व्यापयन्तो हिंदोस्ताने-
 ति-प्रतीत-वितत-नीवृत्स, जाग्रतीति वयं समे सुखिता अ-
 कम्पानुकम्पानिधि-पादशाह-कम्पनी-प्राज्य-सौराज्य-सा-
 प्राज्य-समृद्धिमधिकतरमाशास्महे इति शिवम् ॥ ॥

Names of the Signatories (in Persian).

Nilkanth Bhutt; Bireshwar Sish; Atma Ram Kay;
 Balam Bhut Koley; Bhairav Dixit; Megh Nath Deo;
 Shambhu Deo; Jairam Bhutt; Jagannath Bhutt Shukul;
 Baijnath Bhutt; Jagannath Misr; Ganga Ram Karikal;
 Ramchandra Bhutta Kootkar (Ketkar?); Atma Ram
 Puranik; Bhutt Ganga Ram; Somnath Bhutt Neoyatkar;
 Bhudeo Misr; Bhairav Dixit; Balam Bhutt Bharadwaj;
 Guneshwar Bhutt; Baba Dixit; Balkrishen Dixit Mahaji;
 Dadam Bhutt; Kishen Bhutt Arari; Sukha Ram Bhutt;
 Jogeshwar Bhutt; Harikishen Dixit; Babu Dixit Ayachuk;
 Ramkishen Tepathi; Udaya Shankar Pandit; Anna
 Shastri; Shadasheo Bhutt; Balmakund Bhutt Kholi;
 Balkishen Dixit; Sita Ram Bhatt Puranik; Pandit
 Nana Panhik; Balkishen Karikal; Mauni Ram
 Bhutt Sadaharti; Baijnath Bhutt Nagraj; Prem Shankar;
 Anand Ram Bhutt Lachmi Dhar; Sambhuji Dixit; Udaya-
 kishen Tewari; Lachmidhar Dixit; Lachman Vyas;
 Ballabh Ji; Sheovallabh Ji Gopal Ji; Jaikishen Pathak;
 Anand Ram Anant Ram; Meanath Panda; Sadakishen
 Janey; Panda Nand Ram; Mukund Ram Shukul; Kalyan-
 ji Dixit; Moolnath Rooderji; Dubey Kewal Kishen; Sheo
 Paran Jeewan; Tewari Bhishen Deo; Tewari Kanaya
 Deo; Bawan Kishen; Dubey Ganpat Ji; Dubey Bishnoo
 Ram; Suraj Kishen; Tewari Kishen Ballabh; Pura
 Ganga Ram; Pura Bishnu Ram; Pandia Kalyanji;
 Tiwari Motilal; Dubey Kanaya Ji; Anand Ram Shukul;
 Ram Dutt; Kewal Kishen Dixit; Dina Nath; Ram
 Kishen Bhut Kholey; Anant Ram Bhutt; Maladhar
 Dharam Adhikari; Balmakund Arori; Hari Bhutt
 Dhobey; Vasudeo Bhutt Gurjar; Sheoram Bhutt Jhosi;
 Jagannath Dharamdhikari; Anant Ram Bhutt; Vinayak
 Bhutt Moni; Kirpa Krishn Jakak; Shew Lal Pathak;
 Lachman Bhutt; Babroopajh (*sic*) Shastri; Bhawani
 Shankar Thakur; Jogeshwar Shastri; Megha Pat Joshi;

Ganesh Bhutt Sharangpani; Sheobhadra Pathak; Suraj-ram Jani; Arat Ram Vallabh Ram; Gobind Ram Sheo Dutt; Beni Ram Bora; Singhji Mureshwar; Mohan Lal Murlidhar; Dubey Chiranjiwa Shashankar (Shiva Shankar?); Dewa Karan Bakht Ram; Gori Shankar Varachand; Nanak Parmeshwar; Kamla Karan Ajleshwar (*sic*); Dubey Banath (*sic*) Ram; Rameshwar Bakran; Kashi Ram Rateshwar; Rati Ram Sanmukhram; Vidya-dhar Udaykaran; Dubey Izzut Ram Lajja Ram; Daya Dhar Dina Nath; Dayanath Bishnu; Gotha Sathvāk Krishna Kayal; Varadhar Mangleshwar; Rewa Das; Jeevaneshwar; Amba Shankar Bijoy Shankar; Liladhar Rup Ram; Kāshi Ram Sheo Shankar; Jani Rewa Dutt Behari Lal; Suraj Ram Munna Ram; Nana Mokha; Govind Ram Nir Baneshwar; Ishwarji Lukhooji; Jain Anand Ram Sarth Ram; Jagat Ram Izzat Ram; Mukeshwar; Rashik Lal Brijlal; Dayanand Karnakaran; Ram Dutt Sawakeshwar (Sevakeshwar); Sanmookh Ram Uttam Ram; Surga Shankar Daya Ram; Bajji Ram Charan Ram; Balmokund Shankar; Chandreshwar; Hirakaran Moti Karan; Bishunath Chagopi Nath (Visvanath Jhā?); Jiteshwar Lachmi Ishwar; Prem Shankar; Mahant Gopal Kishen; Amba Ram Vyas; Krishnji Joshi; Ram Chandra Vyas; Mawari Mal Sheshwar (Shiveshwar); Dubey Suraja Ji; Tewari Ratan Ji; Tewari Amba Ram; Ganpat Joshi; Jadupat Joshi; Pandia Mahadeo; Bidya Dhar Vaid; Raja Ram Kanwal Ram; Dev Dutt Bhutt; Vidya Nund Joshi; Bibareshwar; Battha Ram Bhutt; Ojha Ram Kishen; Tiwari Baijnath; Dubey Chaturbhuj; Dubey Deo Ram; Ojha Radha Kishen; Amba Shankar Jali; Ananda Ram Vyas; Munna Ram; Raghunath Gopal; Dixit Gopalji; Dixit Hari Kishen; Suraj Lal Shukul; Jiwan Ram Dube; Krishan Deo Dixit; Gopal Deo; Chitreshwar Bhat; Parbhu Deo Vyas; Sheo Shankar Dixit; Narain Deo; Kirpa Shankar Dixit; Gokul Nath Dixit.

2. Copy of the Memorandum drawn up by Bengali Brahmins and other Hindus, inhabitants of Benares (written in Bengali Character).

श्रीमत्सु राज-राजेषु इंग्लैड-भूमिन्द्रेषु (sic) श्रीमत्-कोम्पा-
नौच श्रीवाराणस्यां कृत-वसतीनां नानादेशीया यावि-
कानाञ्च निवेदनानि विशेषः श्रीयुत-गवर्नर-जने (sic)-
ल-हेस्तिंस-नरेन्द्रस्य प्रणयानुरागा-(sic)-समनुरक्षिता एव नि-
त्यं तिष्ठामः । १ । अपरोपि अस्मिन् देशे यदा तेन नरेन्द्रे-
ण स्थितं तदा आस्माकं मङ्गलार्थं मर्यादा-स्थापनार्थञ्च ब-
हुधा प्रयतितं ॥ २ ॥ अपरोपि तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य प्रसादान्नि-
रुद्धेगमत्रवसतामस्माकमतीवसुखं दुष्टानां दमनाच्च (sic) श्रु-
त्वा नानादिग्भ्यो लोकाः समागत्यात्र वसतिञ्चक्रुः ॥ ३ ॥
अन्योपि अत्रवसतां सतां प्रतिपालनार्थमसतां निग्रहार्थ-
ञ्च धीमन्तं नानाशास्त्रार्थ-कोविदधर्मभीरु-निर्लोभं वेद-प-
थानुसारिणां धर्म-शास्त्रानुसारेण यवनानां तदीय शास्त्रानु-
सारेण च व्यवस्थापकं नियोजयितुं (sic) पर्यालोच्य श्रीमान् हेस्ति-
न-संज्ञो नरेन्द्रस्तादृशं श्रीमन्नवाव अलीविराहिम् खाँ-नामकं-
गुन-सिन्धुं नियोजयामास तेन पूर्व-राजापेक्षया इदानीमस्मा-
कं सम्यक्-प्रतिपालनं जायते ॥ ४ ॥ अपरोपि यदात्र-नरे-
न्द्रेणागतं तदा तं द्रष्टुं ये ये गताः ते ते यथायोग्यमाहताः ॥ ५ ॥
अन्योपि यथायोग्य-श्रीश्री ॐ प्रीत्या नित्य-विजयार्थं श्रीश्री ॐ तोरण-
समीपे प्रभूत-मुद्रा-व्ययेन सम्यङ्निर्मिते पाषाण-मये प्रासादे
वादित्रं नेत्यिकं नरेन्द्रः कारयामास ॥ ६ ॥ तेन नरेन्द्रेण
यावदत्र स्थितं तावदेव पुत्रवद्वयं सर्व्वथा प्रतिपालिता अस्मा (sic)
अस्माकं कस्मिन्नपि विषये तस्य नरेन्द्रस्य न्युनता नासीत् ॥ ७ ॥
तेन वयं सर्व्वदा सुखिनस्तिष्ठामः । एतेन श्रीमतां राजराजा-
नां इङ्लैड-भूमिन्द्राणां (sic) दीननाथैकशरणानां श्रीमतः को-
म्पानेश्चात्र महती कीर्त्तिर्जाता वर्त्तते वयमपि नित्यं शुभाशि-
षः कुर्मः । श्री ॐ वासिनां निवेदनमिति ॥ ॥

Names of the Signatories (in Persian).

Kriparam Tarka-Siddhānta; Gvindaram Nyāya-
chārya; Ramarama Siddhanta; Kashiram Chatterji; Pran
Krishna Sharma; Shyam Vidyavagish; Krishnamangal
Sharma; Krishna Chandra Sarvabhauma; Yugal Kishor

Vandopadhyaya; Krishna Chandra Mukherji; Ramlochan Mukherji; Dulal Nyayalankar; Balaram Vachaspati; Sadananda Tarka Vagish; Sivnath Tarkabhushan; Ananda Chandra Bhattacharya; Ramcharan Vidya-vagish; Kashinath Maithil; Gangaram Vyas; Ram Prasad Bandyopadhyaya; Ramsundar Ray; Vagaleshvar Pahan (Pradhan?); Kaliprasad Bhattacharya; Gangadhar Vidya-vagish; Krishnananda Vidyalankar; Ramcharan Chakra-varti; Haridev Tarkabhushan; Ramchandra Vidyalankar; Ramram Bakshi; Balaram Bhattacharya; Rudraram Sarkar; Bhavanicharan Sarkar; Ramshankar Vandyopadhaya; Sivaprasad Vachaspati; Kaliprasad Siddhanta; Siv-narayan Vandyopadhyay; Darpanarayan Bhattacharya; Gokul Krishna Vidyalankar; Ramkanta Vidyalankar; Ramnath Sharma; Chandicharan Sharma; Lakshman Vidyavagish; Ramkanta Vidyalankar; Gangaram Pahan (Pradhan?); Lakshminarayan Sharma; Krishnananda Sarvabhauma; Khelaram Sharma; Tilak Chandra Gango-padhyay; Ramram Sharma; Ramji (van?) Gangopadhyay; Kaliprasad Sharma; Jaganmohan Mukhopadhyay; Shobha-nath Sharma; Ramdas Sharma; Krishndas Sarvabhauma; Jaykrishna Sharma; Jayashankar Sharma; Prema-nanda Gangopadhyay; Janananda Sharma; Shambhu-nath Vandyopadhyay; Jayanarayan Ghoshal; Bhavani-shankar Ghoshal; Gangahari Vandyopadhyay; Ram-santosh Chatterji; Vishvanath Chatterji; Ramram Siddhanta; Jagannath Ray; Manikchandra Sharma; Gangadhar Vidyavagish; Rammohan Bhattacharya; Ramchandra Nyayalankar; Jaydev Sharma; Jagan-nath Sharma; Kashinath Sharma; Devnarayan Sharma; Gopalshankar Pahan (Pradhan?); Lakshmi-narayan Nyayavagish; Krishnadev Chatterji; Yugal-mohan Sharma; Vishvanath Ghosh; Raghunat Palat (Palit?); Kaliprasad Sarkar; Viharicharan Sil; Santa Singh; Ramnarayan Sil; Ramsundar Sayin; Rammohan

Palat (Palit?); Prankrishna Palat (Palit?); Krishnamohan Das; Ramshankar Bose; Ramhari Das; Ramnidhi Das; Haricharan Malik; Vrajakishor Ghosh; Kaliprasad Sharma; Kalishankar Sharma; Kaliprasad Sharma; Kevalram Sharma; Kevalram Bhattacharya; Prannath Thakur; Ramchandra Banerji; Nilmani Thakur; Chaitanyacharan Thakur; Harikrishna Ved; Vishnushankar Vijhat; Mannu Vijhat; Ramnath Vijhat; Visvanath Mitra; Vaidyanath Narayan Misra; Ausan Misra; Kalidas Siddhanta.

English Translation of the First Memorandum

This memorandum is drawn up on (this day, being) Friday, the Sixth *tithi*⁵ (lit. *tithi* presided over by Kārttikeya) from the new moon in (the month of) Kārttika, in the 1844th⁶ year of Vikrama (equivalent to) the Śaka year 1709. We, the inhabitants as well as outsiders settled at Benares (literally, people coming from elsewhere) do (hereby) declare with truth and sincerity that we feel happy and satisfied on account of several (good) things originating from the generous and enlightened policy (administration) of the illustrious noble Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. Among these things the first (to be mentioned) is the pain he took to populate as well as to promote the well-being of the City of *Viśveśvara*,⁷ the most holy place for all the four castes belonging to the entire country.

⁵ 'Adhi-Guhatithi.'—*Tithi* presided over by Guha (Kārttikeya).

⁶ 'Yugakṛta.'—Twice four or four followed by four. *Dhṛti* = 18 according to *Vācaspatyābhidhānam*. The year is therefore 1844. The date corresponds to 16th November, 1787.

⁷ Hastings framed a number of regulations for the improvement of the administration, trade and commerce of Benares and he wrote in a letter to Wheler "I have the happiness to find all men satisfied and happy in the excellent administration of Benares." Forrest, *Selections from State Papers*, Vol. III, pp. 816-17, 1095, 1117 and 1119.

Secondly, he has settled us under his jurisdiction with both honour and happiness.

Thirdly, frightened by the high-handedness of the *Gaṅgāputras*⁸ few pilgrims previously use to visit this city. But now that those misdeeds have been suppressed and all other obstructions removed pilgrims are pouring in the city in large numbers from all provinces in view of the unprecedented facilities afforded for their religious rites.⁹

Fourthly. He appointed as Magistrate Nawab 'Ali Ibrahim Khan,¹⁰ efficient, upright and well-versed in law, for the maintenance of law and order and administration of justice in the City of Benares. In the *proclamation*¹¹ of his appointment—an appointment justified by the resulting happiness and comfort that have accrued to the whole population of the locality, it was ordained that Brahmin Scholars should be appointed for deciding the suits preferred by the four castes and Muslim divines for (deciding) those preferred by others.¹² The said Magis-

⁸ *Gaṅgāputra*.—According to V. S. Apte, "a Brāhmaṇa who conducts pilgrims to the Ganges." From the English translation of the Persian Letters Received (1788, Vol. 28, p. 57) it appears that the term used to be applied to the officiating priests in general. In Bengal the *Doms* in charge of the cremation grounds on the banks of the Ganges are also styled as *Gaṅgāputras*.

⁹ In his letter to Wheeler, already referred to, Hastings opined that the pilgrims should be encouraged in every way. In 1781 he abolished the pilgrim-tax and framed a few regulations to protect them "against every means of oppression." Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 1117. Also see *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 535 and 808.

¹⁰ Ali Ibrahim Khan served under Alivardi Khan and Mir Qasim with distinction. He was appointed Chief Magistrate of Benares in 1781 and held that office till his death in 1793. Hastings thought very highly of his character and ability and alluded to the Chief Magistrate's "Character for moderation, disinterestedness and good sense" in a note to the Council. Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

¹¹ See Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 316 and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, 292.

trate having efficiently checked the exactions of bribes and (undue) fines by his subordinate officers has conferred on the people more happiness than enjoyed by them even under the rule of Rājā Balavanta Simha and Cheta Simha.¹³

Fifthly. On the occasion of an assemblage of the enlightened people of the locality which took place during the 2nd visit¹⁴ of the illustrious governor Mr. Hastings, he charmed everybody by his elegant and delightful conversation, by his conduct characterised by unfathomable charity and by his deeds and thoughts which were solely devoted to rewarding and patronising the people according to their merits.

Sixthly. To our great delight, he caused a *music gallery* to be built at his own expense at the gateway of the illustrious *Viśveśvara* temple, the crest-jewel of all the holy places.

Seventhly. He never deviated from the principles essential to good government nor cast a look of greed (towards anybody) nor did he ever wish any ill to anybody.

Thus, do we truthfully testify to the wise and charitable policy followed by Mr. Hastings, Jaladat Jang

¹² The relevant part of the proclamation is as follows: "In all cases which shall depend on the particular laws and institutions of the parties, the said President and Judges shall . . . adjudge the right as established by those facts according to the respective laws and institutions of the parties, whether they be Mussalmen or Hindus and for this purpose they shall be assisted by two Maulvis versed in the Sheriat . . . and two Pundits versed in the Pootee of justice." Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 817; *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, p. 292.

¹³ Balavant Singh, Raja of Benares, 1739 to 1770, was succeeded by his son Chet Singh who was deposed by Hastings in 1781.

¹⁴ Hastings visited Benares on the 13th March, 1784, on his way to Lucknow. During the return journey he spent about a month (13th September to 22nd October) at the holy city. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. VI, pp. 985, 992, 998 and 1421.

(brave in war). The fame of the (English) King and the Company, pervading as it does all the quarters like autumn moonlight, is ever alive through the length and breadth of (their) far-flung and firmly established empire. And we all who are living in comfort, offer our prayers for the prosperity of the extensive and well-administered empire of the King and the Company, who are a veritable repository of never-failing kindness.

English Translation of the Second Memorandum.

This is the submission of people settled in Benares as well as of pilgrims from various provinces to the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England and the prosperous Company. We are living here richly blessed by the favour and patronage of the illustrious Governor-General and chief among men, Hastings (1). Secondly, as long as the said ruler resided in this country, he endeavoured in many ways for the promotion of our well-being and for the maintenance of our honour (2). Again, people came from all quarters and settled here when they learnt of the great happiness of us, who reside here in security, thanks to that ruler's (Mr. Hasting's) favour and of the suppression of the evil-doers (3). Further, having considered the propriety of appointing a magistrate who is intelligent, well-versed in all the sciences, god-fearing, devoid of greed and competent to adjust the cause between the followers of the Vedic religion according to the Dharma-Śāstras and between the Muslims in conformity with their laws, for the protection of the honest and the chastisement of the dishonest, the illustrious ruler, who is known by the name of Hastings, gave the appointment to the illustrious Nawb Ali Ibrahim Khan, who fulfilled all these requirements and was a veritable ocean of virtues, in consequence whereof, we are being governed much better than under the former Raja (4). Further,

when the said ruler came to this City, all who went to see him were received with respect according to their ranks. (5). Further, in order to obtain eternal prosperity in a fitting manner through the grace of the Supreme Lord, the said ruler provided for daily (play of) music in an elegantly fashioned stone edifice built for the purpose at considerable expense near the gate of the Lord's temple (6). So long as he resided in this country he cherished us in every way like his children. In no respect did he cause us any loss. We are on that account ever living in happiness. By these (deeds) the prosperous King of Kings, the King of England, the protector and sole refuge of the poor as well as the Company have gained great reputation. We are also daily offering our blessings. This is the submission of the inhabitants of the holy city.

BHĀSKARA'S VIEW OF ERROR

BY PROF. M. HIRIYANNA.

Like other old exponents of Vedānta, Bhāskara also commented upon the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, the *Upaniṣads*¹ and the *Bhagavadgītā*.² Of them, it is only the *Bhāṣya* on the first that is at present available in a rather imperfect edition.³ Since throughout this work, he finds fault with Śaṅkara for his interpretation of the *Vedānta-Sūtra*, and since he himself is, in turn, criticised by Vācaspati, it is not difficult to fix his date fairly definitely. If we take for granted the dates now generally assigned to Śaṅkara (800 A.D.) and Vācaspati (850 A.D.), we may conclude that Bhāskara should have flourished in the early part of the 9th century A.D. The type of Vedānta taught by him is a very old one. It is described as *Brahma-pariṇāma-vāda*, and references to it are found in the *Vedānta-Sūtra* itself.⁴ It maintains that the relation between *Brahman* and the *Jīva* or the physical universe is one of identity in difference, and is therefore also designated as the *Bhedābheda-vāda*. It was once largely prevalent in India; and may, broadly speaking, be regarded as Hegelian in its spirit. Śaṅkara criticised it often and severely; and it was chiefly owing to his criticism that it completely lost the hold which it seems,

¹ For example, Bhāskara alludes to his com. on *Chandogya Upaniṣad* on pp. 155 and 240 of his *Bhāṣya* on the *Vedānta-Sūtra* (hereafter referred to as BB.).

² See *Indian Historical Quarterly* for 1933, pp. 663—77 for an article on this commentary by Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma. Only fragments of it seem to be available now.

³ Issued from the Chowkhamba Press, Benares 1915.

⁴ Cf. I. iv. 20-21.

till then, to have had on the Indian mind. Efforts were made later to resuscitate it by thinkers like Bhāskara and Yādava-Prakāśa; but they did not succeed. There are, at least, two forms of this type of Vedānta, with differences in matters of detail; but, as they are not familiarly known,⁵ it is desirable to state here the salient features of the particular variety of it taught by Bhāskara, before we can deal with his explanation of error.

Bhāskara is a monist like Śaṅkara, and holds that *Brahman* is the sole reality; but his conception of it is vastly different. He believes that *Brahman* is endowed with infinite potency, which he classifies under the two heads of *bhogyā-śakti* and *bhoktṛ-śakti*.⁶ The former manifests itself as the objective world; and, as a consequence of such manifestation, the other aspect of *Brahman* becomes split up into an indefinite number of parts.

These self-differentiated parts or *aṁśas*,⁷ as they are termed, are the *jīvas*. The physical world is thus an actual transformation or *pariṇāma* of *Brahman*, and not merely its appearance as in Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. The *jīva*, on the other hand, is a determination of *Brahman* formed by its own evolutes on the physical side, such as the internal organ (*antaḥ-karaṇa*) and the physical body. It is the multiplicity of these adjuncts (*upādhi*) that accounts for the multiplicity of the *jīvas*. What should be particularly noted here is that the *jīva* is not a *pariṇāma* of *Brahman*,⁸ as it is according to some other teachers of the *Bhedābheda* school like Bhartṛprapañca and Yādava, but an *aupādhika* or

⁵ An excellent summary of Bhāskara's doctrine is found in Prof. P. N. Srinivasacharya's book, *The Philosophy of Bhedābheda* (Srinivasa Varadachari and Co., Madras).

⁶ BB., pp. 85 and 105.

⁷ BB., pp. 112 and 140-41.

⁸ BB., p. 134.

conditioned state of it. It is only the result of *Brahman* being delimited by certain adjuncts that are its own transformations. The adjuncts being real, the limitation characterising the *jīva*s also is real; and in this lies the chief distinction between the view of Bhāskara and that of Śaṅkara. In its transmigrating state, the *jīva* forgets that it is intrinsically the unconditioned *Brahman* itself, and imagines that its limited character is natural (*scābhārika*) to it. This is the root-cause of *saṁsāra*; and escape from it is possible only when it realises the true nature of those adjuncts and of itself. Except for the important distinction in the conception of *Brahman*, already mentioned, Bhāskara's view of *mokṣa* is the same as that of Śaṅkara. In both the views, the *jīva* loses its individuality and gets merged in *Brahman*.⁹ This is Bhāskara's idea of the triple subject-matter of philosophy, *viz.*, God, soul and matter.

Ignorance of its own true character then is the source of the *jīva*'s bondage in this doctrine, as in so many others. This ignorance has two aspects.¹⁰ There is a negative one (*agrahaṇa*) on account of which the *jīva* loses sight of its infinite nature; and there is a positive side (*viparīta-grahaṇa*) also, owing to which it comes to look upon itself as finite. The latter gives rise to a feeling of separateness from others; and, as a necessary consequence of it, follow all forms of evil like narrow love and hate. Here the error consists not in the *jīva*'s sense of relationship with adjuncts like the body and the internal organ; for that relationship is conceived as actual, but in regarding it as essential (*scābhārika*) while it is only adventitious (*aupādhika*). Thus the *jīva* is under a delusion only in so far as it takes what is provisional for

⁹ BB., p. 231.

¹⁰ BB., p. 19.

what is permanent. The dispelling of this error is possible, according to Bhāskara, through scriptural testimony. But, though wrong knowledge is removable in this life, actual release from the limiting conditions does not ensue until death, for an adventitious feature, as is well known, does not disappear until the element advancing itself is removed. A person suffering from fever may know that sugar is sweet, but it continues to taste bitter as long as he has a bilious tongue. In the present case the adjuncts, which are instrumental in giving rise to the notion of limitation, persist till death when, in the case of a knower, they once for all cease to be.¹¹

In the above error, the fact that two things, *viz.*, the self and the adjunct, are involved is well realised; and yet there is error. It consists in misconceiving the nature of the relation between them. There is another and a more radical form of error, in which this fact is wholly overlooked; and the two things are, as a consequence, mistaken for one as a person looking at two trees in the dusk may mistake them for one. The self and the not-self thus come to be identified as shown by convictions like 'I am *Devadatta*' (understood in the Cārvāka sense).¹² Here what is strictly denoted by the term '*Devadatta*' is the physical organism; and the conviction implies the complete ignoring of spirit which is the true significance of the 'I'. That is, the condition (*upādhi*) is here mistaken for the conditioned (*upahita*); but both, we must remember, are in this doctrine equally real. The dispelling of the error consists in realising, on the strength of scriptural teaching, this fact, *viz.*, that

¹¹ It is worth noting, in this connection, that Bhāskara does not accept the possibility of *jīvanmukti* or freedom while one is still alive. See BB., p. 220.

¹² Bhāskara refers to this as the primal error in several places in his commentary on the *Vedānta-Sūtra*. Cf., p. 21 and 219.

there are two factors and not merely one. Being real, the physical body will of course continue to be; but it will no longer be identified with the self.

So far, we have dealt with metaphysical error or the error which is the source of *samsāra*, as explained by Bhāskara. It is *anyathā-khyāti*;¹³ and it is so described because it explains error as presenting its object in a manner which is different from what it actually is. This error, in its double form, will help us to understand his view of common error, which also is twofold. Instances of such error are cited by him as illustrations, but there is no direct treatment of the topic in his *Bhāṣya*. To get at his view, we have consequently to piece together the information available in it, and in a few of the works belonging to the other schools of Indian thought :

(1) Let us take as an example of the first variety of common error a white crystal which looks red, because a red flower is placed by its side. Here, according to Bhāskara, the redness of the crystal is real so long as it characterises it,¹⁴ and not merely apparent as some other thinkers hold. But if any person, through ignorance, took that feature to be natural to the crystal, he would be in the wrong for it is purely adventitious, being caused by the presence of an *upādhi*, viz., the red flower. There may, of course, be other contributory causes also, such as, a defect in one or more of the aids to proper visual perception (*karṇa-doṣa*); but it is the presence of the flower that gives the error its distinguishing character. It is accordingly an example of what is known as *sopādhika-bhrama*. The knowledge that the crystal is actually white (*bādhaka-pratyaya*) obtained, for instance, by advancing

¹³ Cf. *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, i. 42 where, according to the commentator, the view of error considered is Bhāskara's. See also *Prakāṣārtha-vivaraṇa*, p. 660.

¹⁴ BB., pp. 139 and 210.

towards it, dispels the error. But, as in the parallel case under metaphysical error, the actual disappearance of the red colour depends on the removal of the flower itself. Till then, though the truth may be known, the appearance of redness in the flower persists; but it no longer misleads the person in question. The only difference is that the correcting knowledge can here be gained through one or other of the common *pramāṇas*, and does not require the aid of revelation. The removal of the *upādhi* again is possible in this case, here and now, for it is not permanent¹⁵ as in the other.

(2) As an example of the second variety of common error, we shall select the mistaking of a piece of shell for silver. But before we can explain it, it is necessary to refer to a fundamental principle of Bhāskara's epistemology, *viz.*, that the non-existent, say, a unicorn or a square-circle can never make itself known. Since he recognises no being intermediate between *sat* and *asat*, as Śaṅkara's *Advaita* does, he views whatever is experienced as necessarily real.¹⁶ Its being may be only provisional or temporal; but that does not conflict with its reality as conceived here. That is to say, *bādha* or contradiction does not signify the falsity of a thing, as it does in many other doctrines. In fact, Bhāskara contends that the idea of *bādha* is intelligible only in the case of the real which can be known, and not in that of the unreal which cannot be known.¹⁷ We would say that there is no need to deny the unreal. In the above example, the silver should be real on this principle, for it is distinctly ap-

¹⁵ The physical body is not strictly a permanent adjunct of the *jīva*, for it lasts only during this life. Put, according to the doctrine of *karma*, it is replaced by another then, so that the body as such may be regarded to be so. The *antaḥkāraṇa*, on the other hand, endures until the *jīva* is liberated.

¹⁶ BB., pp. 67 and 95.

¹⁷ Cf. *Iṣṭa-siddhi*, i. 42.

prehended. But it may be asked how it comes to be there. Bhāskara holds that the silver springs up, for the time being, where the piece of shell is. It may be difficult to conceive how it can do so, but that such was his view is not only implied by what he says in the *Bhāṣya*,¹⁸ it is also explicitly stated in some works of the other schools which refer to this point. Thus the *Dvaita* commentator Jaya-Tīrtha says: *Tatraiva tātkālikam-utpannam (rajatam) saditi Bhāskararah.*¹⁹ Now this error corresponds to that of 'I am *Devadatta*,' considered under metaphysical error; and its explanation is similar. One thing is mistaken for another, and the mistake disappears when it is known, say, that it is too light to be silver. An important distinction from the corresponding form of metaphysical error is that right knowledge not only removes error but also its object, *viz.*, silver. But it should not be forgotten that, according to the principle above enunciated, this knowledge points only its impermanence and not to its falsity.

It must be confessed that there is some indefiniteness in our account of this variety of common error. It is due to the fact, already mentioned, that there is no separate treatment of it in the only work of Bhāskara now available. We referred above to the difficulty in understanding how silver can come into being, albeit for a time only, where the shell is. Another point requiring elucidation is why, if the silver is real as it is claimed to be, it is perceived only by the victim of the error and not by others. The only explanation conceivable is that Bhāskara regarded it as what is called a 'private' object and not a 'public' one, some of the causes giving rise to it

¹⁸ P. 93.

¹⁹ *Pramāṇa-paddhati*, p. 63 (Edn. with eight commentaries). See also *Laghu-candrikā* on the *Advaita-siddhi*, pp. 32-3 (Nirn. Sag. Edn.).

(say, weakness of sight) being special to the person in question. A thing's being 'private,' it may be added, does not take away from its reality. Our pains and pleasures are personal to each one of us, but they are not the less real on that account. This explanation gets support from what he says of dream-objects, *viz.*, that they are the creations of the dreaming *jīva* and not of God.²⁰ There is, however, no direct evidence pointing to its correctness.

But whatever may be the solution of such difficulties one thing is clear, *viz.*, the persistence with which Bhāskara tries to uphold the realist position. He does not, indeed, go so far as Prabhākara does and deny error altogether. He admits it; but he still maintains that it invariably points to a *real* object, though that object may be false when viewed from a particular standpoint. To confine our attention to the examples of common error given above: The 'redness' of the crystal is real, and it is false only when taken as natural and not as adventitious to it. Similarly, in the case of the 'silver' also. It is quite real; but it is there for the time being, and would be false only if viewed as what was originally given.

²⁰ BB., p. 161. If this be Bhāskara's view, he would not be alone in holding it. Though there are differences in minor points, Rāmānuja also held that dream-objects and the objects of certain other forms of error are private. See *Proceedings of the Indian Philosophical Congress* (1925), pp. 79-80.

THE CAMPŪ

BY DR. S. K. DE.

Though the term *Campū* is of obscure origin, it is already used by *Danḍin* in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* (i. 31) to denote a species of composition in mixed verse and prose (*gadya-padyamayī*). Nothing, however, is said by *Danḍin*, or by any other rhetorician, about the relative proportion of verse and prose; but since the Prose *Kāvya* (*Kathā* and *Akhyāyikā*), which makes prose its exclusive medium, also makes limited use of verse, it has been presumed that the mingling of prose and verse in the *Campū* should not occur disproportionately. In actual practice, the question, in the absence of authoritative prescription, seems never to have worried the authors, who employ prose and verse indifferently for the same purpose. The verse is not always specially reserved, as one would expect, for an important idea, a poetic description, an impressive speech, a pointed moral, or a sentimental outburst, but we find that even for ordinary narrative and description verse is as much pressed into service as prose. In this respect, the *Campū* scarcely follows a fixed principle; and its formlessness, or rather disregard of a strict form, shows that the *Campū* developed quite naturally, but haphazardly, out of the Prose *Kāvya* itself,¹ the impetus being supplied by the obvious desire of diversifying the prose form freely by verse as an additional ornament under the stress or the lure of the metrical *Kāvya*. In the *Campū*, therefore, the verse becomes as important a medium as the prose, with the

¹ The line of demarcation between a *Kathā* and *Campū* is so thin that Soddhala's *Udayasundarī-Kathā* is sometimes regarded as a *Campū*. The presence of short prose does not distinguish a *Campū* from an ordinary *Kāvya*; witness, for instance, the *Svāhā-Sudhākara* of Nārāyaṇa mentioned below.

result that we find a tendency, similar to that of the decadent drama, of verse gradually ousting prose from its legitimate employment. Although *Dandin* is aware of this type of composition, we possess no specimen of the *Campū* earlier than the 10th century A.D. Its late appearance, as well as its obvious relation to the Prose *Kāvya*, precludes all necessity of connecting it genetically with the primitive mode of verse and prose narrative found in the Pali Jātaka or in the Fable literature, in which the verse is chiefly of a moralising or recapitulatory character, or in the inscriptional records, where the verse is evidently ornamental, or in the purely hypothetical Vedic *Ākhyāna*, which is alleged to have contained slender prose as the mere connecting link of more important verse.

The *Campū*, thus, shares the features of both Sanskrit prose and poetry, but the mosaic is hardly of an attractive pattern. Excepting rarely outstanding treatment here and there, the large number of *Campūs* that exist scarcely shows any special characteristic in matter and manner which is not already familiar to us, in their best and worst forms, from the regularly composed metrical and prose *Kāvya*. The subject is generally drawn from legendary sources, although in some later *Campūs*, as we shall see presently, miscellaneous subjects find a place. The *Campū* has neither the sinewy strength and efficiency of real prose, nor the weight and power of real poetry; the prose seeking to copy *ex abundanti* the brocaded stateliness of the prose *Kathā* and the verse reproducing the conventional ornateness of the metrical *Kāvya*. The form, no doubt, affords scope for versatility, but the *Campū*-writer, as a rule, has no original voice of his own. The history of the *Campū*, therefore, is of no great literary importance, but it is a peculiar literary type; and it would be interesting to notice here some of the better known works which are in print.

The earliest known *Campū* appears to be the *Nala-campū* or *Damayantī-kathā*² of Trivikrama-bhaṭṭa, whose date is inferred from the fact that he also composed the Nausari inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III in 915 A.D.³ The work pretends to narrate the old epic story of *Nala* and *Damayantī*, but the accessories and stylistic affectations of laboured composition entirely overgrow the little incident that there is in it, and only a small part of the story is told in its seven *Ucchr̥vāsas*. The poet himself describes his work as abounding in puns and difficult constructions, for he believes in the display of verbal complexities after the manner of Bāṇa and Subandhu, and deliberately, but wearisomely, imitates their interminably descriptive, ingeniously recondite and massively ornamented style. He has a decided talent in this direction, as well as skill in metrical composition, and elegant verses from his *Campū* are culled by the Anthologists,⁴ but beyond this ungrudgingly made admission, it is scarcely possible to go further in the way of praise.

To the same century and same category of artificial writing belongs the *Yaśastilaka-campū*⁵ of the *Digambara* Jaina Somadeva Sūri, an extensive work in eight *Āśvāsas*, composed in 959 A.D. in the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king

² Ed. Durgaprasad and Sivadatta, with the comm. of Caṇḍa-Pāla (c. 1230 A.D.), NSP, 1885, 3rd ed., Bombay, 1921; also ed. Chowkhambha Skt. Series, Benares, 1932. The poet describes himself as the son of Nemāditya of the *Sāṇḍilya-gotra* and grandson of Śrīdhara.

³ D. R. Bhandarkar in *Epi. Ind.*, ix, p. 28, Trivikrama also wrote *Mandālasā-campū* (ed. J. B. Modaka and K. N. Saue, in *Kāryatehāsa-saṃgraha*, Poona 1882). He is quoted anonymously in Phoja's *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana* (*Parvatabhedi pavitram ad* iv. 36=*Nala-campū* vi. 29).

⁴ All the verses quoted in *Subhāṣitāvalī* *Śāraṅgadhara-pad-dhati* and *Padyāvalī* are traceable in the *Nalacampū*; see S. K. De, *Padyāvalī*, pp. 206-7.

⁵ Ed. Kedarnath and others, in two parts, with the comm. of Srutasāgara Sūri, NSP, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1916.

Kṛṣṇa, under the patronage of his feudatory, a son of the Cālukya Arikeśarin II. It relates the legend of Yaśodhara, lord of Avantī, the machinations of his wife, his death and repeated rebirths, and final conversion into the Jaina faith. The story, based upon Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-purāṇa*, is not new, having been the subject of many a Jaina work, like the *Apabhraṃśa Jasaharacarit*⁶ of Puṣpadanta and the Sanskrit *Yaśodhara-cārita*⁷ of Vādirāja Sūri; but it is narrated here, not normally, but in the embellished mode established by Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*, one of its distinctive features being the treatment of the motif of rebirths. A large part of the narrative⁸ indeed deals with experience of different births, but a resolution is at last made to put an end to transmigration by following the teachings of a Jaina sage, named Sudatta. These teachings form the subject of the last three *Āśvāsas* of the work, added as a kind of popular manual of devotion (*Upāsakādhyayana* or Reading for the Devotee) explanatory of the Jaina religious texts. This didactic motive and interweaving of doctrinal matter practically run through the entire work, which Somadeva, like most Jaina authors, makes a means of his religious end. A vast array of authorities, pedantic and poetical, for instance, is assembled in the king's polemic against the killing of animals in sacrifice, while a knowledge of polity is displayed in the elaborate discussion between the king and his ministers. It cannot be denied that Somadeva is highly learned, as well as skilled in constructing magniloquent prose sentences and turning out an

⁶ Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Karaṇja Jaina Series, Karaṇja, Berar, 1931.

⁷ Ed. T. A. Gopinath Rao, Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series, Tanjore 1912. In four cantos, composed in the beginning of the 11th century. The author wrote his *Pārśvanātha-carita* in 1025 A.D.

⁸ For an analysis of the work, see Peterson, Second Report, Bombay, 1884, pp. 35—46.

elegant mass of descriptive and sentimental verses; but the purely literary value of his work has been much exaggerated. If his earnest religious motive is the source of an added interest, it is too obtrusive and dreary to be improved by his respectable rhetoric and pellucid prosody.

These two earlier *Campū* works are fair specimens of the type; and it is not necessary to make more than a bare mention of later and less meritorious attempts. The Jaina legend of *Jīvaṃdhara*, also based on the *Uttara-purāṇa*, forms the subject of the *Jīvaṃdhara-campū*⁹ of uncertain date, composed in eleven *Lambhakas* by Haricandra, who is probably identical with the *Digambara* Jaina Haricandra, the author of the *Dharma-śarmābhyudaya*.¹⁰ The later *Campūs* of Hindu authors are no better, their subjects being drawn from the Epics and the *Purāṇas*. The *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*,¹¹ ascribed to Bhoja, extends up to the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa* of the epic story, the sixth or *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* being made up by Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa, son of Gaṅgādhara and Gaṅgāmbikā, while some manuscripts give a seventh or *Uttara-kāṇḍa* by Veṅkaṭarāja. Similarly, Ananta-bhaṭṭa wrote a *Bhārata-campū*¹² in twelve *Stavakas*. There are several *Bhāgavata-campūs*,¹³ for instance, by Cidambara (in three *Stavakas*),

⁹ Ed. T. S. Kuppasvami Sastri, Sarasvatī Vilāsa Series, Tanjore 1905.

¹⁰ Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1899. It is in 21 cantos, and deals with the story of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthankara on the direct model of Māgha's poem.

¹¹ Printed many times in India. Ed. K. P. Parab, with the comm. of Rāmachandra Bhudendra, NSP, Bombay, 1898. This edition contains the 6th *Kāṇḍa* of *Lakṣmaṇabhāṭṭa*. Another supplement entitled, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa-campū*, by Rājacūdāmaṇi Dīkṣita is known (ed. T. R. Cintamani in *IHQ*, vi, 1930, pp. 629-38).

¹² Ed. K. P. Parab, with comm., of Rāmacandra Bhudendra, NSP, Bombay 1903 (also ed. 1916). Very often printed in India.

¹³ See P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Catalogue*, vii, p. 3082f.—Several other *Campūs* on the stories of the two epics and the *Bhāgavata* are listed in the different catalogues of manuscripts.

by Rāmabhadra and by Rājanātha. On the separate episodes of the Epics and the *Bhāgavata*, there are also several *Campūs*, but they are not so well known. The *Purāṇa* myths also claimed a large number of *Campūs*; for instance, the *Nṛsiṃha-campū* of Keśava-bhaṭṭa,¹⁴ son of Nārāyaṇa (in six *stavakas*), by Daivajña Sūrya¹⁵ (in five *Ucchvāsas*), and by Saṅkarṣaṇa (in four *Ullāsas*), all dealing with the story of *Prahlāda's* deliverance by the Man-Lion incarnation of *Viṣṇu*. The *Pārijāta-haraṇa-campū*¹⁶ of Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, who flourished in the second half of the 16th century, is concerned with the well known *Purāṇa* legend of Kṛṣṇa's exploit. The *Nilakaṇṭha-vijaya-campū*¹⁷ of the South Indian Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita was composed in 1637 A.D. on the myth of the churning of the ocean by gods.¹⁸ All these are rather literary exercises than creative works.

The *Campū* form of composition appears to have been popular and largely cultivated in Southern India, but

¹⁴ Ed. Hariprasad Bhagavat, Krishnaji Ganapat Press, Bombay 1909.

¹⁵ Son of Jñānādhiraṇja of Pārthapara. He was an astronomer of some repute, who wrote his *Sūrya-prakāśa* in 1539 A.D. and his commentary on the *Līlāvatī* in 1542 A.D. He also wrote the *Rāma-kṛṣṇa-viloma-kāvya*, a small poem of 36 or 38 stanzas which praises in alternate half verses Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, the text given by the second half when read backward being the same as that of the first half read forward (ed. Kāvya-mālā, Guccchaka ix, NSP, Bombay, 1899—36 verses; ed. Haeberlin, reprinted in Jivananda's *Kāvya-saṅgraha*, iii, pp. 463-65—38 verses).

¹⁶ Ed. Durgaprasada and K.P. Parab, NSP, 2nd ed. Bombay, 1889, 1900. The author also wrote the drama *Kaṁsa-vadha* in seven acts (ed. NSP, Bombay, 1888). The author lived in the court of Akbar and wrote this work for Todar Mall's son.

¹⁷ Ed. C. Sankararama Sastri, Bālamānoramā Press, Madras 1924. Also ed. J. B. Modaka and K. N. Sane in *Kāvyaetihāsa-Saṅgraha*, Poona 1882.

¹⁸ The *Svāhā-sudhākara* (ed. Kāvya-mālā, Guccchaka iv, p. 52f) of the Kerala poet Nārāyaṇa, who lived towards the end of the 16th century, is sometimes taken as a *Campū*, but it is really a short poem (26 verses), with occasional prose, presenting the rather thin *Purāṇic* story of the love of Svāhā and the Moon god.

nothing will be gained by pursuing its history further except mentioning some curious developments in the hands of some later practitioners of the type. We find that not only myths and legends were drawn upon as themes, but that the form came to be widely and conveniently applied to purposes other than purely literary. Occasional description, philosophical, or technical exposition and religious propaganda became some of the non-literary objectives of the *Campū*. Thus, Samarapuṅgava Dikṣita, son of Veṅkaṭeśa and Anantāmmā of *Vādhūla-gotra*, wrote towards the third quarter of the 16th century his *Yātrā-* (or *Tīrthayātrā-*) *prabandha*,¹⁹ describing in nine *Āśvāsas*, with plenty of interspersed verses, a pilgrimage which he undertook with his elder brother to the holy shrines of Southern India, and incidentally enlarging upon the stock poetic subjects of the six seasons, sunrise, sunset, erotic sports and the like. The work is a praiseworthy attempt to divert the *Campū* from its narrow groove, but the traditional rhetoric thwarts and prevents the assertion of a natural vein. The *Varadāmbikā-pariṇaya*²⁰ of the woman-poet Tirumalāmbā, gives a highly romantic version, in the usual mannered style, of an historical incident in the career of the Vijayanagara king Acyutarāya. It describes the romance of the love and wedding of Varadāmbikā with the author's own husband and royal lover Acyutarāya. The *Citra-campū* of Bāṇeśvara Vidyālaṅkāra²¹ eulogises the author's

¹⁹ Ed. Kedarnath and V. I. Panshikar, NSP, Bombay 1908. It is the same work as that noticed, but vaguely described, by Eggeling, *Ind. Office Cat.*, vii, p. 1538, no. 4036.

²⁰ Ed. Lakshman Sarup, Lahore 1938(?). The editor notes that the *Campū* contains the largest compounds to be found in Sanskrit, but this is hardly complimentary!—See P. P. S. Sastri, *Tanjore Catalogue*, vii, pp. 3245-46, no. 4220.

²¹ Ed. Ramcharan Chakravarti, Benares, 1940. For MS see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue* vii, pp. 1543-45, no. 4044. The work was composed about 1744 A.D.—Śrīharṣa mentions a

patron, Citrasena of Vardhamāna (Burdwan), Bengal, and gives some quasi-historical information about the Maratha raid of Bengal of 1742 A.D. The versatile Veṅkaṭādhvarin,²² son of Raghunātha and Sītāmbā of the *Ātreya-gotra* of Conjeevaram, whose literary activity was almost synchronous with that of Nilakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, conceived the idea of quickening the *Campū* with a mild zest for disputation and satire. He composed a curious *Campū*, entitled *Viśva-guṇādarśa*,²³ in which two *Gandharcas*, *Viśvāvasu* and *Kṛṣṇu*, take a bird's-eye view of various countries from their aerial car, the former generous in appreciation of their qualities, the latter censorious of their defects. The device is adapted in the *Tattva-guṇādarśa*²⁴ of Annayārya, which describes the comparative merits of *Śaivism* and *Vaiṣṇavism* in the form of a conversation between Jaya and Vijaya, a Śaivite and a Vaiṣṇavite respectively. Local legends and festivals, or praise of local deities and personages also supply the inspiration of many a *Campū*. The *Śrīnivāsa-vilāsa-campū*²⁵ of Veṅkaṭeśa, for instance, describes the glory of the well known deity Śrī *Veṅkaṭeśvara* of Tirupati in the highly artificial style of Subandhu. The *Vedāntācārya-*

Narasāhasaṅka-carita-campū composed by himself, in his *Naiṣadha* (xxii. 22), presumably on an historical theme: but nothing is known of this work.

²² Veṅkaṭādhvarin was a voluminous writer, and composed, among other works, the *Yādava-rāghaviya* (a short *Dvi-sandhāna Kāvya* of about three hundred verses, which relates, by the *Viloma* device, the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* simultaneously), a supplement (the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*) to Bhoja's *Rāmāyaṇa-campū*, and several poems, plays and *Stotras*. See *Ind. Culture*, vi, p. 227 for other works of this author.

²³ Ed. B. G. Yogi and M. G. Bakre, NSP, 5th ed. Bombay, 1923; also ed. with a commentary, Karnatak Press, Bombay 1889.

²⁴ See *Descriptive Cat.*, *Madras Govt. Orient. Lib.*, xxi, p. 8223, no. 12295.

²⁵ Ed. Durgaprasad and K. P. Parab, NSP, Bombay, 1893,

*viṣaya*²⁶ of *Kavi-tārkika-siṃha* Vedāntācārya describes the life of the South Indian teacher, Vedāntadeśika, the disputations held by him with *Advaitins* and his polemic successes. The *Vidvan-moda-taraṅgiṇī*²⁷ of Rāmacandra Ciraṅjīva Bhaṭṭācārya, a comparatively modern work, is a witty composition which brings together the followers of schools and sects, and, by means of their exposition, pools together the essence of various beliefs and doctrines. But the most strange application of the *Campū* form occurs in the *Mandāra-maranda-campū*²⁸ of Kṛṣṇa, which is nominally a *Campū* but is in fact a regular treatise on rhetoric and prosody, composed with elaborate definitions and illustrations.

As the Jaina writers made use of the *Campū* for religious propaganda, the Bengal *Vaiṣṇava* school also did the same in respect of their creed and belief in the *Kṛṣṇa*-legend, not only presenting erotico-religious pictures of great sensuous charm, but also making it the vehicle of their elaborate theology. The *Muktā-caritra*²⁹ of Raghunātha-dāsa, a disciple of Caitanya, relates a short tale, in which Kṛṣṇa demonstrates that pearls could be grown as a crop by sowing and watering them with milk, but of which the real object is to show the superior-

²⁶ *Descriptive Cat., Madras Govt. Orient. Lib.*, xxi, p. 8290, no. 12365.

²⁷ Ed. Venkatesvara Press, Bombay 1912. The author's *Mādhava-campū* has been edited by Satyavrata Samasrami, Calcutta, 1831. For the author, see S.K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, i, p. 294. He lived in the first half of the 18th century, his *Vṛttaratnāvalī*, a work on Prosody in honour of Yaśovanta Simha, Nāyeb-Dewān of Dacca under Sujā-ul-daulah of Bengal, being dated 1731 A.D.

²⁸ Ed. Kedarnath and V. L. Panshikar, NSP, Bombay, 2nd ed., 1924. As the work copies some definitions from Appayya Dikṣita, it cannot be earlier than the 17th century. The *Rasa-prakāśa* commentary on Mammāṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* is probably his.

²⁹ Ed. Notyasvarupa Brahmachari, Devakinandan Press, Brindāban, 1917, in Bengali characters,

ity of Kṛṣṇa's free love for Rādhā over his wedded love for Satyabhāmā. But the *Gopāla-campū*³⁰ of Jīva Gosvāmin, nephew of Rūpa Gosvāmin, and the *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campū*³¹ of Paramānanda-dāsa-sena Kavikarṇapūra are much more extensive and elaborate works, which describe the childhood, youth and manhood of Kṛṣṇa in a lavishly luscious and rhetorical style. Kavikarṇapūra's work deals in twenty-two *Stavakas* with the early life of Kṛṣṇa at Vṛndāvana; but Jīva's huge *Campū* in 70 chapters (which occupy 3940 pages in the Calcutta printed edition!) envisages the entire career of Kṛṣṇa, and makes modification in the legends in accordance with the *Vaiṣṇava* theology of the Bengal school, of which it is more of the nature of a *Siddhānta-grantha*.

³⁰ Ed. Nityasvarūp Brahmachari, in two parts (*Pūrva* and *Uttara Khandas*), Devakinandan Press, Brindavan 1904; also ed. Rasavihāri Śāṅkhyatīrtha, with comm. of Vīracandra, in two parts, Devakinandan Press, Calcutta, 1908-1913, in Bengali characters.

³¹ Ed. in the *Pandit*, vol. ix and x, New Series, vols. i-iii; also published in parts, by Madhusudan Das, with comm. of Viśvanātha Cakravartin, Hugli, 1918, etc., in Bengali characters (incomplete). For a detailed account of these two Bengal *Vaiṣṇava Campūs*, see S.K. De, *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, pp. 472-493.

THE LOCATION OF UḍḍIYĀNA

BY DR. B. BHATTACHARYA

The location of *Uḍḍiyāna* still remains unsettled. According to Tibetan traditions *Uḍḍiyāna* is the place where *Tāntric* Buddhism took its origin, and hence a correct, or at least an approximate, location is important for the historians of Buddhist *Tāntric* culture.

Uḍḍiyāna is sometimes placed in the Swat valley, but it is also identified with the distant Kashgarh. Although sometimes it is also equated with Orissa, the latest tendency seems to be in favour of locating *Uḍḍiyāna* in Bengal or Assam.

Uḍḍiyāna is frequently mentioned in *Tāntric* Buddhist literature, and by Tibetan authorities, such as Taranath and Sumpa. The confusion regarding the location of the place seems to arise from the hazy ideas of Taranath and Sumpa who could not understand the difference in sound between *Uḍḍiyāna*, *Oḍra*, *Oḍryāna* or *Oḍivīśa*, and *Urgyen*. While *Uḍḍiyāna*, *Oḍḍiyāna* or *Oḍiyāna* is the place where *Tāntric* Buddhism took its origin, *Oḍra*, *Oḍryāna* or *Oḍivīśa* is the name of a country which is almost equivalent to modern Orissa. The third *Urgyen* is the same as *Udyāna* in the Swat valley.

According to the fancy of different scholars *Uḍḍiyāna* may be identified either with Orissa or *Udyāna* of the Swat valley, but how it can be taken to the distant Kashgarh defies my imagination.

Uḍḍiyāna is mentioned in the *Sādhanaṃālā* rather frequently. The earliest manuscript of the *Sādhanaṃālā* is dated in the Newari era 285, or 1165 A.D. In this work *Uḍḍiyāna* is connected with the *Sādhana* of *Kurukullā*, *Trailokyavaśaṅkara*—a variety of *Avalokiteśvara*,

Mārīcī—the sow-faced goddess, and the furious deity *Vajrayoginī*. The *Sādhana-mālā* also connects *Uḍḍiyāna* with such *Tāntric* authors as Sarahapāda who composed a Sanskrit work: *Uḍḍiyāna-vinirgata-mahāguhya-tattvopadeśa*. The *Sādhana-mālā* further mentions *Uḍḍiyāna* along with the three other *Pīṭhas*,—*Kāmākhyā*, *Sirihatṭa* and *Pūrṇagiri*,—while describing the *Sādhana* of *Vajrayoginī*. Besides these, the *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti—a *Vajrayāna* work of great fame—mentions it in the last colophon as *Śrīmaduḍḍiyāna-vinirgata*, thereby connecting Indrabhūti the author with *Uḍḍiyāna*.

Can we with the help of the material above indicated from purely Sanskrit sources, locate *Uḍḍiyāna* correctly? *Uḍḍiyāna* being one of the four *Pīṭhas* sacred to *Vajrayoginī* should be at least near *Kāmākhyā* (*Kāmarūpa*) and *Sirihatṭa* (Sylhet) in Assam, and it is not unusual to think that all these four *Pīṭhas* received their sanctity from temples dedicated to the furious Buddhist deity *Vajrayoginī*. In order to locate *Uḍḍiyāna* in Bengal or Assam or to connect the place with *Vajrayoginī* it is not necessary for us to rely on Tibetan sources.

But the Tibetan sources throw no less light on the problem of the identity of *Uḍḍiyāna*. Indrabhūti is said to be the king of *Uḍḍiyāna* in Tibetan traditions. He was the father of Padmasambhava who married the sister of the famous Buddhist logician Śāntarakṣita of Zāhor. Tibetan history also records that Śāntarakṣita and his brother-in-law Padmasambhava together founded the first regular monastery at Samye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D. Thus *Uḍḍiyāna* is connected with another locality which is called by Tibetans as Zāhor.

The pressure of evidence in favour of *Uḍḍiyāna* being located in Bengal is so overwhelming, that this fact is gradually being realised by sensible writers, and an excellent résumé of the problem will be found in *Indian*

Historical Quarterly, Vol. XI (1935), pp. 142f. under an article entitled '*Uḍḍiyāna and Sāhore*' by Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta. It is not necessary to repeat here all that Mr. Das Gupta has said in his learned article, or his conclusions.

The chief reason why *Uḍḍiyāna* should be located in Bengal is that the *Tāntric mystics* who are said to be connected with *Uḍḍiyāna* are also described by Taranath and Sumpa as Bengalis.

But in what part of Bengal *Uḍḍiyāna* should be located? The location of *Uḍḍiyāna* is again dependent on the identification of Zāhor, the native place of Śāntarakṣita whose sister was given to Padmasambhava in marriage. Zāhor is identified with *Sābhār*, a 7th-8th century village in the Dacca district.

In this short paper I offer a suggestion for the location of *Uḍḍiyāna* near *Sābhār* in the Dacca district.

Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has shown that in mediæval times, *Vaṅga* and *Samatāṭa* were the two important centres of culture in Bengal. *Vaṅga* included the present Dacca, Faridpur and Backarganj districts while *Samatāṭa* comprised the present Sylhet, Chittagong, Tipperah and Mymensing districts. That *Vaṅga* and *Samatāṭa* were the two great centres of culture in Bengal is shown by the numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical images of the early *Tāntric* type discovered in this region. Numerous old inscriptions, remains of old buildings, coins and terracottas found in these regions also confirm the opinion of Dr. Bhattasali.

In this *Vaṅga-Samatāṭa* region, one of the most important and one of the most historical places is Vikramapura in the Dacca district. Any one acquainted with the ancient inscriptions of Bengal will be able to appreciate the importance of Vikramapura which is sometimes mentioned as the seat from which imperial charters were

issued. There was a great Buddhist monastery here in the reign of the Chandras and the Senas. *Atiśa Dīpaṅkara*, famous in Tibetan history, is said to have been born in the royal family of Vikramapura. *Pargana* Vikramapura even to this day retains its ancient tradition of greatness in being recognised as one of the foremost places of culture in East Bengal.

In *Pargana* Vikramapura there is a fairly large and well-populated village which is now known by the rather extraordinary name of *Vajrayoginī* (pronounced as *Bajrajoginī*). Round about this village numerous *Vajrayāna* images have been found, and amongst them we notice images of *Jambhala*, *Paṇṣabarī*, *Vajrasattva* and *Tārā*.

Apart from these purely Buddhistic and *Tāntric* evidences, the name of the village itself is most interesting. Why should the village be called by the name of *Vajrayoginī*? We know *Vajrayoginī* to be a violent Buddhist deity of the *Vajrayāna* pantheon. She is the Buddhist original of the Hindu *Chinnamastā*, although *Vajrayoginī* is credited with a less violent form also. (*Sādhanaṃālā* No. 233).

The term '*Vajra*' in *Vajrayoginī* is a familiar Buddhist term. *Vajra* is equivalent to '*śūnya*'. Thus the name of the village appears to me to be unmistakably Buddhist, and I am inclined to believe that the village derived its present name from the temple of *Vajrayoginī* which must have been then in existence in early times.

It has already been pointed out that temples dedicated to *Vajrayoginī* could only be expected at four places according to the two references in the *Sādhanaṃālā*. These four places are *Kāmākhyā*, *Sirihatṭa*, *Pūrṇagiri* and *Uḍḍiyāna*. Out of these *Kāmākhyā* and *Sirihatṭa* have retained their original names, *Pūrṇagiri* which signifies a hill is not identified yet with certainty. But it is

possible to spot the fourth place *Uḍḍiyāna*, which should be near *Sābhār* and should be connected with *Vajrayoginī*. Thus it becomes evident that the present village of *Vajrayoginī* was originally known as *Uḍḍiyāna*, but as the deity *Vajrayoginī* became more popular later, the original name gradually disappeared giving place to the name of the deity. Such changes in the place-names are not rare in any part of India (compare—*Kālighāt*, *Jagannāth*, *Tārakeśvara*, *Ambājī*, *Bechrājī*, etc.). That the place was connected with *Śakti* worship can be seen from the temple of *Kālī* at present existing in the village.

According to the *Vajrayoginī Sādhana*, *Uḍḍiyāna* was sacred to *Vajrayoginī*, and perhaps the temple of *Vajrayoginī* was its chief temple. It was a centre of *Śakti* worship as *Vajrayoginī* is to-day. Would it be deviating too far from science if the present village of *Vajrayoginī* is equated with the ancient *Uḍḍiyāna*? The identification proposed here may or may not be correct, but I think I have indicated here sufficiently the importance of the ancient village in the *Vikramapur Pargana*. We ought to study the village and its surroundings better in the expectation of valuable historical and cultural data.

URDU MARSIIYA (FROM EARLIEST TIME UP TO 1840 A.D.)

BY CAPTAIN S. M. ZAMIN ALI.

Pleasure and pain are the two chief aspects of human nature. Happiness and grief are the two fruits of life which every soul has got to taste frequently. Involuntary ejaculations or sighs are the outbursts of excessive joy or intense pain. These outbursts suggest that while a person is lost in happiness or overpowered with grief, he is unconsciously betraying his inner feelings and unintentionally inviting the hearer to share his joy or grief. The ejaculations and sighs cannot do more than to arouse the attention and curiosity. In order to make the hearer share one's grief or happiness it is necessary that the ejaculations and sighs should be imitated in words. If they are given suitable and effective expression of words they create the same emotion in the mind of the hearer. Whatever be the form of expression—be it prose or poetry—the electricity of poignant words would not fail in impressing the heart more or less. But poetry, as it has been defined as 'the fit expression of fit emotions', would be more suitable for the purpose. In poetry deep interests of life are spoken of intimately and sincerely. The forms of conventions and restraints of art lend dignity to expressions and enhance the sharpness of words. No such thing is possible in prose. Moreover poetry is a touchstone for insincerity. If a poet does not feel what he desires to express, he cannot make a successful poem. The faithful expression in poetry of a sincere feeling would, like wireless telegraphy, impress the heart of the hearer. There is a well-known saying in Persian 'انچه از دل خیزد بر دل ریزد' in Urdu 'اتر جاتی ہے دل میں بات' جو دل سے نکلتی ہے

(whatever comes from heart goes direct into the heart) *e.g.*

اک ہوک جگر میں اٹھتی ہے اک درد سا دل میں ہوتا ہے
میں راتوں کو اٹھ اٹھ روتا ہوں جب سارا عالم سوتا ہے

Again, "Poetry is imaginative passion." The quikkest and subtlest test of the possession of its essence is in expression. The variety of things to be expressed show the amount of its resources and the continuity of the song completes the evidence of its strength and greatness. It includes whatsoever of painting can be made visible to the mind's eyes and whatsoever of music can be conveyed by sound and proportion without singing or instrumentations. The highest class of poetry, as has universally been admitted, is the epic which contains thought, feeling, emotion, expression, imagination, action, character and continuity, all in the largest amount and highest degree. It includes the drama with narrations besides, or the speaking and action of the characters with the speaking of the poet himself.

It was by virtue of these qualities that poetry was adopted for writing marsiya or elegy. Although Marsiya literally means "To mourn the deceased", it gives an account of the heroic deeds of the departed soul as well. A poet does not, rather cannot, mourn alone. He makes the whole world around him share his grief. He does not only describe in plain words the qualities of the deceased, or the circumstances to which he was driven, or the noble death, or the notable death with which he met, but gives such touches to his narrations and decorates it with such gloomy accessories that every word of it plays daggers to the heart of the hearer.

This sort of poetry is found in one form or the other almost in all literatures of the world. For instance, *Lycidas* by Milton, *In Memoriam* by Tennyson and *Elegy* by Gray and many others in English; Qasaid of Marsiyas in Arabic, Regular Marsiyas and قطعات تاربع etc. in

Persian. As to Sanskrit in Kalidasa's "*Kumāra Sambhava*" Rati (Venus) laments the death of Kāma (Cupid).

Before we go further let me say that although the term marsiya can literally be applied to any poetic expression of grief and lamentation on the loss of anything or person, yet it has got a special significance too. Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam* gives the meaning of Marsiya on page 327 in the following words:—

"The term marsiya is especially applied to those sung during the Moharram in commemoration of the great tragedy of Husain and his followers at Karabala." This is the correct sense in which we use the word. The single word marsiya, unless the name on whom it is written is mentioned, always denotes what the learned compiler of the *Dictionary of Islam* has written and it would be in this sense that I shall use the word hereafter.

It may also be added that I shall be inserting at places in this essay instances of composition from model authors simply to show the different stages of the development of Marsiya. As such random quotations do not fully represent the poet or his work a bit more than what a nutshell can show of the whole universe, it is hoped that the reader will kindly read the entire work of an author to realize and endorse the force of the critical remarks made in this article.

As Urdu, with which we are concerned at present, owes to Arabic and Persian Literatures very much for its poetry, let us take a cursory view of the marsiyas in these languages.

In tracing the origin of marsiya the Arabs have gone so far back as the time of Adam. According to them Adam showed the lines of marsiya by mourning the loss of Paradise and lamenting the death of his son. The language and form in which he lamented are not known to us but plain it is that the first expression which the first

man made in this bleak and dreary world was that of grief and thus marsiyas being only the regular expressions of pathetic emotions and sentiments took their birth at the very moment when Adam set his foot on this earth.

The Arabs used to compose marsiyas in the same form and with the same poetic restrictions as they did the Qasidas. Like Qasidas, Marsiyas too had on some occasions been the cause of exciting one tribe against the other and arousing martial spirit in the army. Simplicity, fluency, and pathos were the notable features of marsiyas in those days. Here is a specimen taken from the Marsiyas composed by *دعبل خزاعي*

أَفَاتِمْ لَوْ خَلَّتِ الْكُسَيْنِ مَجْدَلًا * قَدِمَاتِ عَطَشَانَا بِشَطِ فِرَاتِ
إِذَا لَطَمْتَ الْكَدَ فَاطِمَ عِنْدَهُ * وَاجْرِيَتْ مَعَ الْعَيْنِ فِي الْوُخْبَاتِ

“O Fatima! If you were to live and see how your son Husain in his thirst was butchered on the bank of Euphrates, you would surely have torn your face and wept with tears of blood.”

In Persian the form of Marsiyas remained for some time the same as in Arabic. Later on the Persians, perhaps not liking to confine themselves in one form only, invented several forms and adopted different metres. They invented the forms of

سوز - سلام - فوچه - واقعات - ترکیب بند - ترجیع بند and ترویح

In all these forms with the exception of *واقعات* the Persians used to compose the lamentations only. In *واقعات*, they used to narrate the events as well as the tragic portion and the lamentations. The term Marsiya, by virtue of its literal meaning, could be applied to any of the said forms. Intensity of pathos, height of imagination, force of style and poignancy of description are the remarkable characteristics of the Persian Marsiyas. Here is a specimen taken from the Marsiya composed by *مکتشم کاشی*

چو خوں ز حلق تشنہ او بر زمیں رسید
 جوش از زمیں بہ ذروہ عرش بریں رسید
 نکل بلند او چو خساں بر زمیں زدند
 طوفان بہ آسمان ز غبار زمیں رسید
 باد آن غبار چون بہ مزار نبی رساند
 گرد از مدینہ ہر فلک ہفتیمیں رسید
 کرد این خیال وہم غلط کار کاں غبار
 تا دامن جلال جہاں آفریں رسید
 هست از ملال گرچہ بری ذات ذوالجلال
 او در دل ست و هیچ دلے نیست جز ملال

Urdu at first adopted the lines of Persians for its Marsiyas. Like other forms of Urdu Poetry, Marsiya, too, took its birth in the Deccan. After the overthrow of Bahmani Kingdom (of which the last king was Mahmud Bahmani Shah) Sultan Quli Qutub Shah captured the throne in 1518. As he himself was a poet, the art of poetry was very much patronized by him. It was in his time that Marsiya was composed by Shuja Uddin Nuri for the first time in Urdu. Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah while composing love-songs has given expression to his religious feelings and beliefs in the following lines :—

دو جگ امامان دکھ تھے سب جیو کرتے زاری وائے وائے
 تن روں کی لکڑ جان کر کرتے ہیں خواری وائے وائے
 آسمان چھج جالا ہوا سورج آگن والا ہوا
 چندر سورج کالا ہوا اے دکھ ایاری وائے وائے

صدائے مدح علی اور نبی کی کہتا ہے
 معافیٰ شعر ترا تو لکھے ہیں دست بدست
 حسین جی کی شہادت ہوئی جو کربل میں
 تو برگ شاخ بھی مارے ہے اپنا دست بدست

His successors took the title of Qutub Shah and almost all of them were poets. Abdullah Qutub Shah says:—

جب وہ ابر رحمت اس جگہ پر ہوا ہے فیض بار

شیعیان کے تئیں اتھا وہ دن مگر بہبود کا

The marsiyas were composed by almost all the poets of the age..

The marsiyas had become so popular that they were composed in Tamil and Telegu as well. The full text of Marsiyas is extinct but couplets from here and there are to be found in those recited in majlises. Shuja Uddin Nuri, Hashim Burhanpuri and Kazim Ali were the best marsiya writers during the 16th century and their compositions are still found in the Edinburgh University Library.

The Marsiyas were written in those days either in the form of نظم مسلسل or scattered couplets. They took the form of مربع later on. The marsiyas of this time were full of pathos and simplicity and have been written merely for being recited in majlises. Some instances of the marsiyas composed in the Deccan during the Adil Shahi and Qutub Shahi reign (which came to an end in 1686 and 1687 respectively) are given below:—

شجاع الدین نوری

کوئی نظم اس میں تو کرتا نہ تھا

ولے سب تعصب دیا ہم مٹا

نہ کچھ خوف کھایا نہ جھجکھا ذرا

وہم مرثیے سے سہل کر دیا

شروع میں کیا نظم کل واقعا

وہم تک کا احوال پورا لکھا

میں جب اس کو لوگوں کے آگے پڑھا

عجب حال عاشور خانہ میں تھا

جن و انس کرتے تھے سب واہ وا

کہ دکھیں میں لکھا گیا مرثیا

زماں اپنے میں کس نے ایسا لکھا
 کبھی اس سے پہلے سناتے پڑھا
 اماماں سے اس کا ملے گا صلا
 کہ ہے نوری موجد تو اس طرز کا

غواصی

دستا نہیں کروں کیا او بیان کربلا کا
 پھرتا ہوں زار ہوں میں حیران کربلا کا
 آسمان تے خدایا، جبریل اوتر کو آیا
 روتا اوپر تے لایا فرمان کربلا کا
 کمر باندھے کربلا میں کر شکر ہر بلا میں
 کیوں ہے کہ کربلا میں سلطان کربلا کا
 ہے دکھ بڑا یو سب تے زین کس قرابت تے
 پکڑ یا حسین جب تے میدان کربلا کا
 دکھ سر ملک لئے ہیں ماتم زدے ہوئے ہیں
 رو رو دریا کئے ہیں آسمان کربلا کا
 جلتا ہے سور جوتی دنیا کھری ہے روتی
 کان تے ہوا یو کوفی مہمان کربلا کا
 منجھہ سک نہیں ہے نہ کہ بن ہوں میں نہ ہال چھن چھن
 لا گیا ہے رات ہور دن منجھہ دھیان کربلا کا
 کرو رو کر بسارا منجھہ شان کرتے ہارا
 سو ہے حسین پیارا شہ جان کربلا کا
 غواصیا معطر عالم کون سب کیا ہے
 گویا یو مرنیہ ہے ریکان کربلا کا

ماہ مکرم سوز سون آیا اہل دل منیر سون
 روتا عالم یک ریز سون کیا کام کیتا ہائے ہائے
 کر بادشاہی پر منم شاہان کون دیتا غم یو غم
 مظلوم پر کرنے ستم حیفی نہ کھایا ہائے ہائے

دکھہ شاہ زانے کون دیا بدنامی اپنے سرلیا
 آخر او کافر کیوں کیا اپناچ بنایا ہائے ہائے
 روتے ملک سب عرش لک سورج ستارا اپنا جہلمک
 مشرق سے تا مغرب تلک اند کار پاریا ہائے ہائے
 غم سون پکر بیت الکھن یعقوب نے کھویا نیں
 شہیں کے بہانے کوہ کن آپ جیو گنویا ہائے ہائے
 بولے غواصی مرثیہ سن روئے دکن کے اولیا
 ہر سال کا یو مرثیہ کیا کام کیتا ہائے ہائے

عبداللہ قطب شاہ—وفات سنہ ۸۳۰ھ مطابق سنہ ۱۷۷۲ع

علی ہور فاطمہ کرتے ہیں دونو آہ زاری بھی
 حسن کا سور حسین کا دو کہ لے آیا جگ پو خوار بھی
 حسین جب چلے لڑنے سر ان یہیں پر لگے پرے
 شہیدان ہر طرف چرنے لگیا یو دو کہ پیاری بھی
 شہر بانو کہی آکر کہ اے سنسار کے سرور
 منجے غربت نے بہا کر نہ جاؤ چھور باری بھی
 منجے کے جاوے یوں حال تیں بعد از میرا کیا حال
 کرو مت غم نے پائمال دیو درس تمہاری بھی
 علی اکبر کہے میں جانوں سو پیاساں جو یا لے لاتوں
 زخم کھا کر آئے پھر اب تھا نون بھی ہے مشک ساری بھی
 دیکھہ طفلان منگے پانی نہ کر ذرہ مہربانی
 ستم سوں تیر مارا نے کئے او نابکاری بھی
 حسین پانی پنی اے یزیدان تیر برسائے
 سو پانی پینے نہیں پائے لگے کلہ لہو کی دھاری بھی
 بغیر از ظلم بیدادی نہ تھی اس وقت کچھہ شادی
 ہوئی قاسم کی دامادی دیکھو تقدیر باری بھی
 عروس آکر پکر دامن چلے تو شو ہو جب جہو جہں
 نشانی کچھہ دیٹو منجکں سو پیارا سین تماری بھی

حسین کا وقت جب دانیہ شمر نے آگلا کاتیا
 حرم کا دیکھے سینا پیا دینا اور آپ کا ری بھی
 یزید دیکھا حسین کا سر پھرایا پیت سوں پھر پھر
 سو دیکھو لعنتی کافر کیا کفر اختیاری بھی
 کرو اے دوستان ماتم ثواب ہے بہت کرنا غم
 مدد ہو وینگے امام ہر دم کی ہے امیدواری بھی
 حسین کا دکھہد لمیں آن لگایک چٹ سوں دائم وہاں
 کرے قطب عبداللہ سلطان دو کنوسوں شہر یاری بھی

ہاشم علی برہان پوری (۲۵۰ مرثیئے کہے ہیں)

تھا بر اولاد شفیع المذنبیں * ظلم بے حد در جہاں اقسام کا
 زخم لاگا مرتضیٰ کے سر اُپر * گر پڑا جوں آفتاب اس ایام کا
 زہر دے مارے حسن کوں مکرسیں * سبز تھا وہ چہرہ گلفام کا
 کربلا میں تھا حسین ابن علی * آج غم ہے گا انہیں ایام کا

علی عادل شاہ بیجا پور سنہ ۱۹۵۶ ع سے سنہ ۱۹۷۲ ع تک
 شہ کے غم سوں دل ہے نالائ ہائے ہائے
 جگ بستی جوں ابھالا ہائے ہائے
 جگ کے سرور دل کے لہو سوں بھر چلے
 پھور پھر پلکھیاں کے بالا ہائے ہائے
 کربلا کی سب زمیں رنگیں ہوئی
 لہو بھرے دل دل کے ماندن ہائے ہائے
 اس شدیاں کوں کھول آنکیاں دیک توں
 ہے جزو شہ کے او دھالائ ہائے ہائے
 کر خوشی ہوو خرمی کے گر پڑے
 آہ کے چھنے میں نالائ ہائے ہائے
 فیت کر عادل علی یک دل ستے
 شہ کا ماتم ماہ و سالائ ہائے ہائے

غلام علی خاں لطیف

اے اہل درد اشک سون انکھیاں کو تر کرو
 نکلیا ہے پھر یو ما ہے مکرم نظر کرو
 نازل زمیں یو سر تے ہوا غم حسین کا
 ماتم زن یاں کواٹک طرفتے خبر کرو
 سلطان کربلا کی غریبی کون یاد کر
 تکرے جگر کون ہور دلاں خنجر کرو
 ہے درد اگر تمن کون قیامت کے دھوپ کا
 سایہ کون اہلبیت کے سر کا چھتر کرو
 بے دہن ہو یزید کیا دین میں خلل
 لعنت مدام اس کے اوپر سر بسر کرو
 گر شہ علی ہے بات میں ثابت قدم تمہیں
 آیات ہور حدیث ہور سہی میں اثر کرو
 آل عبا کے غم سون جنم آج صرف کر
 مکشور کے دیس ذوق خوشیا نہن اثر کرو
 خواص کے زمانکے اچھے ہے لطیف تو
 اے عارفان ہو یاد تمہیں یو اچھر کرو

سید میران ہاشمی (وفات سنہ ۱۱۰۹ھ مطابق ۱۶۹۷ء)

دلہند مصطفیٰ کاتبوت لے چلے ہیں
 فرزند مرتضیٰ کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 سلطان دو جہاں کا سردار اولیا کا
 مظلوم کربلا کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 حضرت حسین حسن کا شاہ زمیں زمین کا
 حضرت نبی کے من کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 حضرت کے تھے نواسے حیدر کے تھے خلاصے
 ہوئے شہید پیاسے تابوت لے چلے ہیں
 اے ہاشمی شہان کا سلطان دو جہاں کا
 مقبول اس جہاں کا تابوت لے چلے ہیں

کاظم علی کاظم

(a) تم اپنے دلبراں کی خبر لو علی ولی
 بے تاج سروراں کی خبر لو علی ولی (مربع)
 نیزوں اوپر سران کی خبر لو علی ولی
 ظلم ستم گراں کی خبر لو علی ولی

آرام دل سکینہ بیتاب کون نہیں
 انکھیاں میں اسکے راز خواب کون نہیں
 کہیں انتہا یو درد کے اسباب کون نہیں
 غم ہائے بے کراں کی خبر لو علی ولی

(b) آج پترے رن میں بے جان حسینا
 ظلم و ستم سون بن نے حیران حسینا
 جد کا دل میں لے چلے ارمان حسینا
 پائے نہیں اس درد کا درمان حسینا

(c) پئے نہیں انن حیدر آج پانی
 پوکاریں دین کے رہبر آج پانی
 کہاں روئے زمیں پر آج پانی
 مگر در حوض کوثر آج پانی

دھن سوکھا ہے کاظم غم سون میرا
 نہیں یاں آسرا میرا تیرا
 قلم کرتا نہیں کاغذ پہ بھیرا
 سپاہی کون نہ رہبر آج پانی

مرزا بیجا پوری

(مربع)

شریعت اساسی پہ اتیا ستم
حقیقت شناسی پہ اتیا ستم
نبی کے نواسے پہ اتیا ستم
سب امت کے آسے پہ اتیا ستم

دیا زھر پانی میں یا ظالماں
سو لاگا کلیجے کون جا کر تدھان
جگر توتھہ حسن کا پرا بے گناہ
مدینہ کے باسی پہ اتیا ستم

حسین ابن حیدر خدا کا ولی
جگر گوشہ فاطمہ اور علی
بروج دہ و دہ کا بدر جلی
شہ کر کھر ایسی پہ اتیا ستم

مبارک بدن سون ہوا سر جدا
ایسی غم سون کہتا ہے مرز سدا
کیا کیا دو بد بخت نے اے خدا
شہنشاہ پیامے پہ اتیا ستم

الودا اے الودا شاہ شہیدان الودا
الودا ابن علی دو جگ کے سلطان الودا
یو شفق نہیں ہے گگن پر صبح و شام اس درد سون
نت بھراوین لہو منے دامن گریدیاں الودا

یہی نہ تنہا لباس نیلا ہے سب مکھیاں کے تن میں غم تھیں
سیاہ پھیرا ہے پتلیوں نے ازل سوں جگ کے زین میں غم تھیں
خبر مکھیاں کی اشک ریزی کی جب بد خشاں سوں گئی عرب میں
عقیق جتنے تھے سب لہو ہوئے بہ چلے ہیں نمن میں غم تھیں

Ram Rao Siva, a famous marsiya-writer, was a contemporary of Mirza. In 1681 A.D. (i.e., 1092 H.) he translated روضة الشهداء into Urdu poetry. It contains all the tragic events that happened at Karbala.

ذوقی متوفی سنہ ۱۶۹۸ ع
اے شمعِ بزمِ مرتضیٰ گھر آئے کیوں نہیں
تاریک ہے تم بن جہاں جلوہ دکھائے کیوں نہیں
وہ جاہل و دوزخ وطن آئے ہیں بادل کے نمن
جوں برق تیغ صف شکن شہِ جگمگاتے کیوں نہیں
وہ شمعِ بزمِ مصطفیٰ بادِ اجل سوں گل ہوا
سب سوزِ دل سوں تنِ سدا یاراں گلانے کیوں نہیں

قاضی مکیوڈ بھری — متوفی ۱۷۱۸ ع
جب شاہ کے وجودِ مبارک پہ غم ہوا
تب سب جہاں تھے حرفِ خوشی کا عدم ہوا
بھری مدامِ شاہ کے ماتم میں یوں گئے
جیوں چاندِ آسمان پہ گل گل کے کم ہوا

احمد

صلوٰۃ بر محمد صلوٰۃ بر محمد
ہر دمدم ہزاراں صلوٰۃ بر محمد
یعقوب علی کے گھن کا موتی نبی کے من کا
زہرا فاطمہ کے تن کا صلوٰۃ بر محمد
ولی ویلوری

Translated روضة الشہرا in Urdu poetry in 1119 A.H.
(1707 A. D.) which was published from Bombay in
1291 A. H.

معبد اشرف — اشرف گجراتی

کہاں ہے وہ ولی والی حیدر حسن میرا
 کہاں ہے وہ حسین ابن علی صفدر شکن میرا
 اکن سوں ماتم شہ کے جلا ہے تن بدن میرا
 برونک برق خرمن سوز دل ہے ہر سخن میرا
 لگا ہے بسکہ تیو ماتم شہ دل منے کاری
 شہید کر بلا نے غم ہوا ہے جگ میں من میرا

بازو کہیں اصغر نہیں اب میں جھلاؤں کس کے تئیں
 سونا ہوا ہے پالنا اب میں جھلاؤں کس کے تئیں
 نہلا کے میں کپڑے پنہا اس کو بنانی گل زمیں
 وہ پھول سو کھا ذیرین اب میں بناؤں کس کے تئیں
 سوتا تھا جب وہ زیند بھر پیئے اٹھاتی دودہ کون
 دیدم ہے دیکھو آج وہ اب میں جگاؤں کس کے تئیں
 جب مسکراتا وہ بچا میں شان ہوتی دل منے
 بیجان پڑا ہے گود میں اب میں ہنساؤں کس کے تئیں

معبد رضی — رضی احمد آبادی

غم سوں ہے بیقرار میرا دل
 دکھ سوں ہے زار زار میرا دل
 گلشنِ غم میں ہے شہیداں کے
 لالہ دغا دار میرا دل
 غم کی بھگلی پڑی ہے جب سیتے
 تب سوں ہے شعلہ زار میرا دل
 نیم بسمل زمیں ترپتا ہے
 ہو کے غم کا شکار میرا دل
 گرد غم سوں امام کے اے رضی
 کیوں نہ ہو پر غبار میرا دل

۱۷۲۵ ع

کیا ظالماں نے ظلم کیا ہے حساب آج
مظلوم کربلا میں ہیں عالی جناب آج
اس غم سوں مو مناں کو ہوا پیچ و تاب آج
گویا علی کے گھر کا کھلا غم کا باب آج
کیوں عرش فرش پر نہ گرا بیقرار ہو
کیوں تاب لاسکے یہ فلک دیکھہ ظلم یو
مینا سے قد کو شہ کے شکستہ کیا دیکھو
سنگیں دلاں نے ظلم کی پی کر شراب آج

غلاس ۱۷۲۵ ع

اب میں جھلاؤں کسے چھاننی لگاؤں کسے
دو د پلاؤں کسے ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
نکلی میں جب از وطن کیسی ہوئی تھی شگن
گم ہوئے سارے رتن ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
لوہو میں اکبر مرا زخمی بدن ہے پڑا
تن ہوا سب سوں جدا ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
حال مرا زار ہے جیونا دشوار ہے
عابدیں بیمار ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا
میری سکینہ نہ ہال پیاس سوں ہے خستہ حال
کیا کروں اے ذوالجلال ہے فلک کیا کیا
آئی تو آئی کہاں، بیٹی بیابھی کہاں
میرا جو آئی کہاں ہے ہے فلک کیا کیا

بانو یہ کربلا میں کیسا یہ دکھہ پڑا ہے
گودوں میں پیارا اصغر بن دوں مر چلا ہے
ہو راند بیٹھی بیٹی داماد مر چکا ہے
سر کا چتر بھی ڈھلتا کوئی دم کو اڑھا ہے
سمجھانا اس بچی کو اس وقت کیا مصیبت
بابا بننا ترپنا اور تشنگی کی شدت

اے بیٹی تیرے بابا کھانے گئے ضیافت
 معصوم کا یہ سن کر وہ چند جی جلا ہے
 کہنے لگی کہ اماں ہے یہ کیا غضب ہے
 مرتی ہوں بھوک سیتیں پیاسوں سے جاں بلب ہے
 ضیافت میں گے ہیں بابا مجھے بن تو کیا سبب ہے
 بابا نے مجھے یہ شاید شفقت کوں کم کیا ہے

قادر ۱۱۴۹ھ مطابق ۱۷۳۶ع

ہوا شہرہ محرم میں یو غم ہے شاہ عالی کا
 کہ ہے فرزند وہ پیارا دونو عالم کے والی کا
 چھپا ہے دین کا شہرہ کہ جسکے سوگ سوں جگ پر
 فلک پر ملک ہیں تانے شمیمان رات کالی کا
 ستارے سب یہ قدسیاں نے ملا کر سب گنگن اوپر
 حسین کے عرس کو بھاندے مندف موتیاں کی بجالی کا

سیکن

ماہ محرم میں دیکھو ہو چندا مالی آٹیا
 تارے گنگن کے گوند کے سہرا جو شہ کوں لائیا
 کنگنا ستم کا باز کر رو کہ کا ابٹا کوں لگا
 حیرت کی چوکی کے اوپر انجھواں سے تن نہ لائیا
 دولا حسینا چھر ترنگ سر ڈال مکھنا نور کا
 سارے براتی سات لے دولہن کوں بھیا نے دھائیا
 باجے بکرویں بین کے غم کے نفریاں کا ہے غل
 ملعون لشکر مل سبھی مندف تیروں کا چھائیا
 سیکن سقا شہ کا سرا میدان تر کرنے بدل
 دینوں کی مشکاں اشک سوں بھر بھر کے نت چھر کائیا

روحی

آج غم ناک ہیں چمن کے گل
 بلکہ دل چاک ہیں سمن کے گل

غم زدہ سینہ داغ حیراں ہیں
 نرگس و لالہ یا سمن کے گل
 یوں یہ لالے شفق کے دستے ہیں
 لہو میں ڈوبے ہیں سب گنگن کے گل
 جب سنی شہ کی بات مجلس میں
 جل بجھے شمع انجمن کے گل
 خوش لگے تجھ طبع سوں اے روحی
 دل کے باغان منے سخن کے گل

نظر

یاراں ہزار حیف رسول خدا نہیں
 اور فاطمہ علی و حسن مجتبیٰ نہیں
 تنہا حسین رن میں کوئی آشنا نہیں
 بازو نہیں رفیق نہیں دلربا نہیں

رمضانی

اس شاہ سروراں کو سرور نہ کہوں تو کیا کہوں
 اس ماہ دو جہاں کو انور نہ کہوں تو کیا کہوں

مدحی

یاراں دو جگ کے شاہ پر صلوات سب کہو
 معنی لالہ پر صلوات سب کہو

یاد

حضرت نبی اپنے نواسیاں کے خبر لیو
 ہے چور رن میں گھاٹل زخماں کی خبر لیو

ندیم

اے صبا غم کی خبر گھر گھر سوں کہہ
 پھر مدینہ میں نبی سرور کو کہہ

مستقیم

تشنہ لب رن میں کیوں آل پیمبر ہوئے
حاضر اس وقت اگر آن ساقی کوثر ہوئے

معصوم

آیا دل مکرم سب جا عزا ہوتا ہے
ارض و سما بمانم نیلی قبا ہوتا ہے

شیدہ

سواری آج ہے شہ کی دیکھو یاراں مکرم سوں
چلے ہیں آہ مظلوماں بہت دکھ درد ماتم سوں

اکیر

ہے ہائے قاسم ہے ہائے قاسم
مارے تھے کیوں ہے ہائے قاسم

صفی

اما ہے شہر ماتم کا رچا ہے بیابا قاسم کا
شہ سلطان عالم کا رچا ہے بیابا قاسم کا

As it has all along been a popular belief of Muslims ever since the great tragedy at Karbala took place that lamenting the martyrdom of Husain and his followers is conducive to purification of soul, the marsiyas purposely contained lamentations and briefly narrated the bare facts of the tragedy in simple and pathetic words to move the heart of the hearer. We can see from the instances just quoted that some of them cannot be called a piece of literature but expression of grief tinged with religious feelings. They are devoid of linguistic or rhetoric beauties. They are plain, natural, and moving like the pleading of a child. It was perhaps on this basis that people used to say in those days *گو شاعر مرثیہ* (an unsuccessful poet becomes a marsiya-writer). No doubt the marsiya

devoid of all poetic and rhetoric beauties could easily be composed even by a novice. Uzlat عزلت was the first poet to draw the attention of the composers of marsiya to this point which was endorsed by other poets also.

عزلت

خام مضمون مرثیہ کہنے سوں چپ رہنا بھلا

پختہ درد آمیز عزلت نت توں احوالات بول

Shah Quli Khan Shahi was probably the first man who introduced marsiya in Northern India. He held a high position in the court of Abul Hasan Tana Shah, the last king of Golkunda. After the overthrow of the said kingdom, he was brought and received with great honour by the people of Delhi in 1687 probably. He was very much respected and was regarded as one of the distinguished poets of his age. His compositions induced the Delhi poets and Burhanuddin Asmi appeared on the dais of marsiya-writers. He was one of the first poets from amongst the Dehalvis who composed marsiya—his son Mir Amani was the second to follow him. Mir Amani wrote very pathetic marsiyas. It is said that while he was once reciting his marsiya in a majlis, he was so much impressed with the pathos of his own composition that his voice choked all of a sudden. The audience waited for a minute or two under the impression that he was perhaps making a selection of suitable stanzas to recite, but getting impatient they went up to him and discovered to their utmost surprise and dismay, that excessive shock had stopped the action of his heart and he was no more. Maulana Fazli wrote در مجلس in the time of Mohammad Shah in 1728 in Prose. Wali of Deccan sang the martyrdom of Husain and his followers in the form of Masnavi. It should be noted that the marsiyas up till now were written either in مربع or میلہ like masnavi. But Haider

Shah Haider adopted the form of **مسدس** for marsiyas. He was contemporary of Wali and flourished in the time of Aurangzeb and Mohammad Shah. Some critics have given this credit to Sikandar and others to Sauda. Mir Mohammad Taqi *alias* Mir Ghasita and many other marsiya-writers followed him. Mian Miskeen gained world-wide fame in this branch of poetry. Mir Taqi Mir and Sauda then appeared on the exalted place of marsiya-writers. Sauda composed very pathetic marsiyas, and won great distinction in this form of poetry which had gained popularity by that time. The Marsiyas of Sauda in particular and his contemporary poets in general show a distinct improvement on those written prior to their appearing on the stage. Sauda's marsiyas are elegantly worded and profoundly pathetic. He composed them almost in all the forms including **مسدس** and selected suitable metres for them. Some instances of marsiyas composed in Northern India are given below :—

شاه قلی خان شاہی

ہائے غریب یتیم نمائے عابد تیری زاری ہے
 باپ کا مرنا دکھ کا بھرنا تس پر یوں بیماری ہے
 تیغ کھڑی لے دشمن سر پر واویلا دکھ بیماری ہے
 درد مصیبت عابد تم پر آج کے دن بیماری ہے

جبریل کہیں بتلاؤ مجھکو نام ہے کیا اس وادی کا
 سنا جب کربل دیہی ہے مقتل حسین علی سے ہادی کا
 کہا دہشت سے پیام لیا یا عابد تیری دادی کا
 کتنی گھڑی ہو پونے میرے تجھپر کیاسنگساری ہے

مرزا ابوالقاسم مرزا

کہوں دکھ درد اصغر کا اور نور چشم سرور کا
 شہ غازی کے جوہر کا کرو زاری مسلمانان

عزیزان دل ہوا پر خون یو سن اصغر کے ماتم کون
 کئے معصوم شہادت سون کرو زاری مسلمانان
 حسین اصغر کون منگائے ان کے تیرے تو بسلامتے
 بزان لشکر کئے لائے کرو زاری مسلمانان
 جبتان پر ہانک تب مارے کھے اے سنگہ دلاں سارے
 برائی میں نہ تم ہارے کرو زاری مسلمانان

ہوئی جب تشنگی غالب امام انس و جان پر
 خبر یو سن کے پانی نے آپس میں پیچ کھایا ہے
 شہیداں کا لہو پر یا جب کربلائے مینائے
 فلك تعظیم سون اس کو شفق کرنے اچایا ہے
 ہوا تن سے جدا جب سر شہنشاہ دو عالم کا
 گگن سر کات سورج کا شفق کے لہو میں بہایا ہے

مکنت قبل کی رات ہے اہل حرم پر گھات ہے
 دل چور اس غم سات ہے تیرے فراقوں یا حسین
 یوں رات جگ غمناک ہے عالم پو سب دیناک ہے
 پر خون جگر دل چاک ہے تیرے فراقوں یا حسین

ولی

(a) غوغا ہوا جہاں میں شہ کے وصال کا
 سینے منے پڑا ہے چھالا اس ملال کا
 محتاج ہیں جہاں کے صکبان تمام مل
 دیدار چاہتے ہیں مبارک جمال کا
 جو کوئی کرے زبان سوناد تو کا ورد مدام
 ہے یہ ولی خلاصے جواب و سوال کا

(b) اے ہادی سینسار تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا
 اے واقف اسرار تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا

اے نور چشم مصطفیٰ فرزند شاہ مرتضیٰ
 اے دلبر خیرالنسا تو کیوں جا بسایا کربلا
 تو دوستان کا جان ہے تیرا ذکر ایمان ہے
 تجھے پیر ولی قربان ہے کیوں جا بسایا کربلا

(c) اوس نور مصطفیٰ پر بولو سلام یاراں
 محبوب مرتضیٰ پر بولو سلام یاراں
 اوس پاک پارسا پر حیدر کے دلربا پر
 اوس لعل بے بہا پر بولو سلام یاراں
 یو جی ولی فدا کر اوس شاہ کربلا پر
 اوس لائق ثنا پر بولو سلام یاراں

مرزا رفیع السودا—سودا

اے امام زمان واویلا سید دو جہان واویلا
 آج تجھے یادگار حیدر کا نہیں جگ میں نشان واویلا
 رن میں بے سر پڑا ہے تیرا تن شہ کون و مکان واویلا
 نازک اندام پر ترے رن میں زخم تیغ و سنان واویلا
 جو کہ گذرا ہے تجھ پر جور و ستم کیا کروں میں بیان واویلا

 ختم تو کر کے مرثیہ سودا یہی کہہ ہر زمان واویلا

(a) بدن میں زخم ستم رن میں جب اُٹھائے حسین
 گہے بروئے زمیں پشت زین سے ہائے حسین
 اُٹھا کے سر یہ کہا تب کہ اے خدائے حسین
 جو کچھ کہ تیری رضا ہو سو ہے رضائے حسین

چنانچہ یوں ہے روایت کہ بعد قتل امام
 دیا یہ نعش کو روح الامیں نے اُکے پیام
 کہا ہے حق نے یہ سو گند تجھ کو بعد سلام
 جو کچھ حسین کہے دون میں خوں بہائے حسین

بحق شاہ شہیدان ذبح تیغ ستم
 الہی غم نہ ہو سودا کو چھٹ حسین کے غم
 نہوے چشم بھی اسکی بجز مکرم نہ
 جو بعد مرگ ہو مدفن تو کربلائے حسین

(b) آج وہ دن ہے کہ سب اعدا جہاں روتے ہیں
 جتنے ہیں زیر فلک پیر و جواں روتے ہیں
 خاک میں مور جہاں دیکھو تو وہ روتے ہیں
 مرغ ہو کر بجہاں بال فشاں روتے ہیں

اولیائوں میں حواس اور نہ یتیموں میں ہوش
 طاقتِ فالہ نہ ان کو نہ انہیں تاب و خروش
 سرنگوں گردِ محکم کے بہم دوش بدوش
 چپکے بیٹھے ہوئے سب خرد و کلاں روتے ہیں

غش سے حوریں تووے بیٹھیں ہیں دیوار کو پشت
 سینے کو اپنے ملک کوٹتے ہیں باندہ کے پشت
 اور روح الامیں افسوس کے مارے انگشت
 شمع کی طرح لگا کر بہ دہاں روتے ہیں

(c) یارو سنو تو خالق اکبر کے واسطے
 انصاف سے جواب دو حیدر کے واسطے
 وہ بوسہ گہ بنی تھی پیمبر کے واسطے
 یا ظالموں کی برش خنجر کے واسطے

وہ تازگی کو روح نبی کی ہوا تھا خلق
 یا اسلئے کہ ذبح کریں اسکو تشنہ خلق
 جس سینہ پر مگس ہو تو وہو فاطمہ کو قلق
 واں بیٹھے شمر کاٹنے کو سر کے واسطے

(مسدس)

(a) اُس لعین نے کیا دیکھے کے عابد کو خطاب
 کیوں ترا باپ لڑا گر نہ تھی لڑنے کی تاب
 رد بیعت سے مرے گھر کو کیا اپنے خراب
 آپ تو جی سے گیا تجھ پہ یہ دالا ہے عذاب
 بے گلے طوق ترے پاؤں میں تیرے زنجیر
 دیکھتے ہیں تجھے اس حال سے برناؤ و پیر
 سنتے ہی اس کو وہ سرور یہ زباں پر لایا
 کیا ہوا گردش دوراں سے جو میں دیکھ پایا
 جو کیا باپ نے میرے وہ خدا کو بھایا
 مفت اپنا تو جہنم میں مکاں بنوایا
 راہ میں حق کے مرے باپ نے باندھی تھی کمر
 گو کہ کاٹا گیا اس راہ میں اب اس کا سر

(b) کس سے اے چرخ کہوں جائے تری بیدادی
 ہانڈھ سے کون نہیں آج ترے فریادی
 جو ہے دنیا میں سو کہتا ہے مجھے ایذا دی
 یاں تلک پہونچتی ہے ملعون تری جلا دی
 کوئی فرزند علی پر یہ ستم کرتا ہے
 کیوں مکافات سے اس کے تو نہیں کرتا ہے
 یہ وہ فرزند علی تھا کہ جسے صبح و شام
 آئے روح الامیں کرتا تھا مدینے میں سلام
 اور کہتے تھے سبھی خرد و کلاں مل کے تمام
 جن و انس و ملک و حور کا بیشک ہے امام
 اس کو کربل میں کیا ذبح پیاسا ہیہات
 کیا نہ کھاویگا محمد کو تو اب روید ذات

(To be continued)

ASOKA NOTES

BY PROF. K. A. NILKANTA SASTRI

I

Vivutha

The first point I wish to discuss here is the import of the enigmatic sentence towards the end of the First Minor Rock Edict which in its fullest form as it occurs in the Sahasram version reads :

*iyam cha sarane vivuthena duve sapamñā lāti satā
vivuthā ti* 200 50 6 (Hultzsch, CII. i. p. 230),

The difficulty of the sentence would be clearly seen if some of the different ways in which it has been translated are set side by side :

- (1) 'It is by the missionary that this teaching is spread abroad. Two hundred and fifty-six men have been sent forth on missions, 256.'
(Stnart, tr. *IA.* xx, p. 165)
- (2) 'And this message has been caused to be proclaimed 256 times by the king on tour.'
(R. K. Mookerji, *Asoka* p. 113, following Brahmagiri version.)
- (3) 'And this proclamation (was issued by me) on tour. Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent on tour—(in figures) 256.' (Hultzsch, CII. i. p. 171)
- (4) 'And this proclamation (was issued) by (me after I had) spent the night (in prayer). Two hundred and fifty-six nights (had then been) spent (in prayer).' (*ibid.* Corrigenda).

I think we may now pass by all interpretations of this sentence which omit to take account of the word *lāti* (night) to which attention was first drawn by F. W. Thomas in 1910.

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has indeed questioned the validity of the interpretation of Thomas (*IA*. 1912 pp. 171—3). This led V. A. Smith to abandon Thomas' explanation in the third edition of his *Aśoka* (p. 152) though he had accepted it in the second. Bhandarkar's main difficulty in accepting Thomas' view lies in the word *satā* after the figure 256 in the Rupnath text. Prof. Bhandarkar had to handle this vexed question without 'the good fortune', as he puts it, 'of knowing the views of these scholars (Thomas and Lévi) first hand.' But we should note that this difficulty was stated and faced by Thomas. He suggested, I think rightly, that the Sahasram version which gives the number both in words and figures shows the manner in which the superfluous *satā* of the Rupnath version arose.¹ Fleet offered another explanation² of it. Let us, however, accept for argument's sake that the Rupnath text does constitute a difficulty; what is Prof. Bhandarkar's solution? First, he goes back to the old analysis of Senart in which with some reservations he took *vivutha* to mean 'missionary' or 'messenger,' and, conformably to it, accepted Oldenberg's suggestion that *satā* stood for *sattva*, 'living being, man'. (*IA*. xx p. 162); and secondly, he introduced the word *satā* into the sentence in Sahasram version on the score that it has been 'inadvertantly omitted' there. There is no need to discuss these details at any length, because Senart has himself given up his old views on *Vivutha*³ and *satā*; he has accepted the interpretation of *vivāsa* given by Thomas and Lévi, and their attribution of it to the king and not to his officials or messengers. He differs from them, however, in thinking that *lāti* stands not for 'night', but for *rati* as in Khālsi RE vii F; as his remarks on this matter are

¹ *JA*: 10, 15 (1910). p. 521.

² *JRAS* 1911, p. 1104, n. 2.

³ We may note incidentally that this cuts the ground on which Bhandarkar's suggestion of *Vivutha* at PE. vii M. rests.

brief and important in view of his eminent place in Aśoka studies, and as many Indian students may not have easy access to them, I may translate them here fully for convenient reference (*JA* : 11, 7, May-June, 1916 pp. 434-5) : 'For my part', says Senart, 'I do not mean in any manner, by the interpretation which I maintain for *prakram* and its derivatives, to drive an argument either against the sense attributed to *virāsa* by Messrs. Thomas and Lévi, or the application, which is new and very ingenious, they make of it to the king. I should be more disposed in my turn to suggest a more direct confirmation of this. Let us recall the text of (Sahasram) : *duve sapāmnā lātisatā vivuthā* ti. After having, very correctly, cut off the numeral noun after *Pāmnā*, Messrs. Thomas and Lévi understand *lāti* = *rātri*; the changes of place by Aśoka would be counted by nights, not by days. Surely, this manner of counting is not, in itself, inadmissible. All the same, in this particular application, it does not fail to excite some surprise. In the VIII Rock-Edict *piyadasī* makes a reference to these 'goings out' or 'rides' which we cannot fail to recall here. There he opposes to the 'pleasure rides' (*vihāra yātrā*), hunts, etc., dear to his predecessors, the *dharmayātrās* which he devotes to pious objects—alms, preachings, inspections; he concludes : *esā bhūya rati bhavati devanāmpiyasa* : 'Such is (since his conversion) the repeated *rati* (pleasure) of the king dear to the devas'. At Khalsi : *ese bhūye lāti hoti devānāmpiyasa*. For this use of *rati* we may compare *Dhamm.* v. 64; *Sabbam ratim dhammarati Jināti*. The long *ā* of Khalsi has no etymological justification. Has it been favoured by the equivalent *abhilāme* employed at Dhauri and Jaugada? One thing is sure, *viz.*, that it is attested by the fascimiles. Nothing astonishing that this mode of writing, though faulty, should be found again at (Sahasram)⁴ *Lāti*, (*sic*)

⁴ Si. for S. here is an obvious misprint in *JA* p. 435.

rati where it would be the curtailed form of *ratiyātrā* or *rativivāsa*; the allusion would relate these changes of place to the king with decisive precision.' I do not find it easy to accept Senart's view, and think that *lāti* = *rāti* (night) is much more probable in the context. The nature of the 'vivāsa' (living apart) of Aśoka has been much discussed. A religious tour of the duration of 256 days, as many nights spent in prayer, living apart giving up other avocations and observing *brahmacarya* (celibacy), the life of a wandering bhikṣu for one year excluding the rainy season (*vassa*) of three months to be spent in a fixed abode—these are the principal ideas put forward. Sylvain Lévi argued that 256 days constitute 17 fortnights in a year of 360 days of which 18 fortnights (nine months) were the period during which monks had to be on the move; in his zealous exertion (*prakrama*) Aśoka had led the life of a monk performing *Cārika* and wanted to proclaim the fact before the close of his 'wanderjahr' and address an exhortation to the people asking them to interest themselves in the cause of *Dhamma*.⁵ Fleet maintained to the end that the Minor Rock Edict was issued by Aśoka towards the close of his life and after he had laid down the imperial office and assumed the robes of a monk; he criticised Lévi's view of the 256 nights briefly summarised above on the score that no calendar known to be in actual use in the Mauryan period corresponds to the year of 24 fortnights assumed by Lévi as the basis of his argument; and he ingeniously reconciled the new interpretation of Thomas with the old view that the number referred to the years that had elapsed from the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, and said: 'The address was delivered by the royal recluse to members of the order gathered round him in quiet on the 256th night of his withdrawal from the world, because, by living through that night, he was completing in his retirement one day

⁵ JA: 10, 7 (1911), Jan.—Feb. pp. 120-21.

for each complete year that had elapsed since the death of the founder of the faith the permanence of which he sought to ensure.⁶ But this neat and fascinating explanation of the number 256 is not tenable in the face of the opinion now almost universally held, and for good reason,⁷ that the Edict takes a place, not among the last, but the earliest inscriptions of the reign; in fact it preceded the Rock and the Pillar series of edicts. There seems to be no way of accounting for 256 along the line followed by Fleet, even if we substitute the *nirvāṇa* for the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha as the basis of reckoning; for the Buddha is said to have enjoyed a long ministry of forty to forty-five years between his *nirvāṇa* and *parinirvāṇa*, and 256 years after the *nirvāṇa* might barely bring us to Āśoka's reign which began 214 years after the *parinirvāṇa* or not even that if we accept the longer ministry.

It seems to me that, in spite of the objections of Fleet based on the difference of a few days, the explanation advanced by Sylvain Lévi is the best way of accounting for the number 256. This period of 256 days should be taken to have been included in the year and more during which he had visited the *saṃgha* and been very zealous (*sātīleke tu chavachare ya sumi hakaṃ sagha upete baḍhi ca pakate*—Rupnath). That Āśoka meant to say that he spent so many nights in prayers appears to me inadequate and improbable; the choice lies between the life of a wandering mendicant monk for a whole *cārīka* season as Lévi has suggested, or more simply, the life of a religious recluse separated from family and cut off from worldly business for the same period followed by a return to normal secular avocations at the end of it. Perhaps those two senses need not be treated as mutually exclusive, and it may be assumed that besides a life of *brahmacarya* and

⁶ *JRAS*: 1910, p. 1308.

⁷ Hultzsch, p. xlv.

temporary abstraction from worldly duties, Aśoka was also moving from place to place so far as this was practicable or necessary for the purpose he had in view which will become clear in the next note; it is not easy to assume that there were 256 changes of the place of sojourn or a continuous tour of 256 days.

It is perhaps worth noting here that words formed from the root *vi-vas* cannot all be treated as having precisely the same meaning; the general import of 'going out' or 'living apart' always being granted, its exact application may vary with the context. Thus (1) '*vivasatavāya*' may mean 'be sent on official tour' (MRE. Rupnath L); for here the king is thinking of means of promoting among his subjects zeal for *dhamma*—one method is to write the edicts on pillars and the other is to send officials on tour within the area of their jurisdiction. I am unable to accept Lévi's suggestion (p. 121, *loc. cit.*) that Aśoka commended to all his subjects the life of a wandering monk as the ideal. (2) *Vivāsayātha* in the edict on Saṃghabheda-Sarnath (I), and *vivāsāpayātha* in (J) of the same edict must be understood to mean respectively 'expel' and 'cause to expel.' In spite of the identical wording of Sarnath (I) and Rupanath (L), the only notable difference being in the forms derived from *vi-vas*), I am unable to accept Hultzsch's view (corrigenda to CIL.) that in both these records we must understand the words in the same sense of expelling Schismatic monks or nuns of whom there is, and can be, no talk yet in the Rupnath version of the Minor Rock Edict.

II

Was Aśoka a monk and monarch at the same time and for the whole of his reign after the events recorded in the opening sections of Minor Rock Edict? Very few will now be prepared to maintain the view of Fleet that

the edict is one of the last records of the king issued after his abdication and very near the end of his life. But in the reaction against Fleet's views, Vincent Smith clearly went a little too far and in this he has been followed by others.

Vincent Smith says: 'The fact is undoubted that Aśoka was both monk and monarch at the same time. The belief held by some learned writers that he had abdicated before he assumed the monastic robe is untenable,' being opposed to the plain testimony of the edicts. We have seen that the earliest of them, unquestionably issued by Aśoka as sovereign, expressly states that at the time of issue (B.C. 257) he had been for more than a year exerting himself strenuously as a member of the Buddhist *Samgha*, or Order of Monks, the organized monastic Church, of which the sovereign had assumed the headship. Throughout his reign he retained the position of Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith. His latest proclamations, the Minor Pillar Edicts, issued at some time during the last ten years of the reign, exhibit him as actively engaged in protecting the Church against the dangers of schism and issuing his orders for the disciplinary punishment of schismatics. In the Bhābrū Edict, seemingly of early date, we find him describing himself as 'King of Magadha', and using his royal authority in order to recommend to his subjects seven favourite passages selected by himself from the sacred books. That edict was recorded on a boulder within the precincts of a monastery on the top of a hill in Rajputana, and the presumption is that the sovereign was residing in the monastery when he issued the orders, which are on record there only. A copy of the Minor Rock Edict I in which he gives a summary of his early religious history is engraved on a rock at the foot of another hill close by. The inscriptions give no support to the late legends which represent the

great emperor as a dotard in his old age, and suggest that he abdicated his sovereign functions. His authentic records shown him to have been the same man throughout his career from 257 to the end, a zealous Buddhist, and at the same time a watchful, vigorous, autocratic ruler of Church and State.' (*Aśoka*, pp. 35-36.)

Sir Charles Eliot, closely following Smith, goes even farther and asserts that Aśoka was more monk than monarch. He says: 'It may be objected that no one could be a monk and at the same time govern a great empire: it is more natural and more in accordance with Indian usage that towards the end of his life an aged king should abdicate and renounce the world. But Wu Ti, the Buddhist Emperor of China, retired to a monastery twice in the course of his long reign and the cloistered Emperors of Japan in the 11th and 12th centuries continued to direct the policy of their country, although they abdicated in name and set a child on the throne as titular ruler. The Buddhist church was not likely to criticize Aśoka's method of keeping his monastic vows and indeed it may be said that his activity was not so much that of a pious emperor as of an archbishop possessed of exceptional temporal power. He definitely renounced conquest and military ambitions and appears to have paid no attention to ordinary civil administration which he perhaps entrusted to Commissioners; he devoted himself to philanthropic and moral projects "for the welfare of man and beasts" such as lecturing his subjects on their duties towards all living creatures, governing the Church, building hospitals and stupas, supervising charities and despatching missions. In all his varied activity there is nothing unsuitable to an ecclesiastical statesman: in fact he is distinguished from most popes and prelates by his real indifference to secular aspirations and by the unusual facilities which he enjoyed for immediately putting his ideals

into practice." (*Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. I, p. 265.)

Now the ideas underlying titles like Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith do not easily fit into the scheme of Indian religious thought and organisation, and while Smith at least concedes that the state claimed Aśoka's attention in an equal measure with the Church, Eliot implies that the pursuit of philanthropic and moral projects left Aśoka little time for the ordinary civil administration. Great as is the value of the inscriptions for our understanding of Aśoka and his government, we should not lose hold of the fact 'that his edicts are not concerned with public affairs, but are of an almost purely religious character' (Hultzsch). In fact, they represent only one side, doubtless in some ways the most important side, but still only one side, of Aśoka's administration and policy. He was actuated by a high moral purpose, and his edicts are calculated to stress this new purpose, lay bare its implications for the conduct of the officials of government and the people, and review the administrative innovations rendered necessary by it. They should on no account be treated as the complete history of the reign. But what is the evidence on which these far-reaching speculations on the nature of Aśoka's rule are based? First, there are the words in the Minor Rock inscription which in the different versions read :

Rupnath : *hakam sagha upete*

Bairat : *mamayā saghe (u)payāte*

Māski : *(s)agha(m) u(pa)gate*

Brahmagiri : *mayā saṃghe upayāte*

Siddhapura : *(mayā saṃ)ghe upayāte*

Yerragudi : *mayā saṃgha upayāte*

The only other evidence for Aśoka's renunciation is that of I-tsing who mentions an image of Aśoka dressed in the robes of a Buddhist monk. This is explained below.

A—In the interpretation of the phrase cited above from the Minor RE, Bühler and Senart are the protagonists of rival views. Bühler has argued that this phrase should be taken to stand in contrast to the earlier statement about Aśoka having become an *upāsaka* (lay-worshipper) and must therefore imply a regular imitation as a monk, a *pabbajā*. Senart has objected that the expression *Samgham upa-i* is too vague to imply such a precise idea and not sanctioned by the technical terminology of Buddhism which must have become fixed very early in such a matter. He interpreted the expression in a more literal sense, and held that Aśoka paid a state visit to the *Samgha*. He also compared this visit mentioned in the edicts to the account given by the Ceylonese chronicles of the festival of the consecration of Aśoka's 84,000 stupas at which the king is stated to have 'stood in the midst of the Samgha.' (Hultzsch, pp. xlv—xlvi).

In commenting on the Maski edict, Senart reiterated his view that the situation of a king turning monk while retaining the life and prerogatives of royalty is incompatible with the idea we have of ancient monachism, and suggested that *saṃgham upagata* should be taken to signify some step implying adherence and deference to the *Samgha*, which might be repeated from time to time and was but the beginning of a close association which was to be habitual and long standing.⁸ And this is very much to the point.

But I think it is not necessary to leave the matter so vague. The verb *upa-i* (*gam* has the same meaning as *i* and is used but once) has a number of meanings, but the one most suitable to our context seems to be 'to approach a teacher', 'become a pupil' (Monier-Williams). What Aśoka means to say in the whole passage at the beginning

⁸ JA, 11.7 (1916) May-June, pp. 436-7.

of the MRE becomes very clear if we apply this meaning of *upa-i* to explain his relation to the *Samgha*; and as Senart has shrewdly remarked, the other meaning of *pravrajyā* (ordination) does not admit of degrees or differences in quality; a man either enters the order or he does not; but if he goes to some person or institution to learn, he may do it well or ill according to his inclination and interest. Here are the exact words of the text (Rupnāth):

(A) *Devānampiye heram āhā* (B) *Sātirekāni adhatyāni va(sāni) ya sumi prakāsa sake* (C) *no eu bādhi pakate* (D) *sātīleke tu charachare ya sumi hakaṃ sagha upete bādhi ca pakate.*

which Hultzsich translates: '(A) *Devānāmpriya* speaks thus (B) Two and a half years and somewhat more (have passed) since I am openly a Śākya (C) But (I had) not been very zealous. (D) But a year and somewhat more (has passed) since I have visited the *Samgha* and have been very zealous'.

My present suggestion is that the visit to the *Samgha* was made definitely for the purpose of *Dharma-Śravaṇa*; Aśoka went as a pupil eager to learn. The *Dīpavamsa* (VI, 57ff.) says that soon after his conversion by *Nigrodha*, Aśoka heard from him that there were many learned *Arahats* in the *Samgha* and said at once: "I desire to meet with that precious Assembly; I will pay my respect to all (Bhikṣus) who come to the Assembly; *I will listen to the Dhamma.*" In the first revulsion from war and its atrocities seen in the conquest of Kalinga, Aśoka proclaimed himself a Buddhist (*prakāsa saka*); but then he did little more, and things went on as before for over a year—a very natural and common human situation; Aśoka then pulled himself up from sinking into lassitude, and took steps actively to secure his own moral advancement and those of his people; and he himself explains the nature of

these steps elsewhere, and says that after the conquest of Kalinga, he devoted himself to *tive dhammavaye dhamma-kāmatā dhammānuṣaṭhi cā* (Kalsi RE XIII C) i.e., zealous study of morality, the love of morality, and the instruction of people in morality. And where should Asoka get the aid he needed in the study of *dhamma* better than from the members of the *Samgha*? So that Asoka going to the *Samgha* should be contrasted, not with his having been an *upāsaka* (lay worshipper) as Bühler suggested, but with his earlier lack of zeal, his failure to further by active steps the cause he had openly embraced after the conquest of Kalinga.

It is possible that the *vivāsa* discussed in the last note began with the approach to the *Samgha* for hearing *Dhamma*, that the period of 256 days mentioned at the end of the edict has reference to the period spent in the first instance in the study of *Dhamma* as a zealous pupil of the *Samgha*. Prof. R. K. Mookerji⁹ holds that Aśoka's position is best described as that of a *bhikkhugatika*, intermediate between an *upāsaka* and *bhikkhu* and that he might have chosen to don the robes of a monk during his temporary visits to the *Samgha*. We may accept the second suggestion of Prof. Mookerji as a plausible explanation of the image of Aśoka in monastic robes seen by I-tsing centuries later; but there is no ground for ascribing the status of *bhikkhugatika* to Aśoka; for there is nothing either in the inscriptions or in tradition that can be taken to support such a view. In the inscriptions we have nothing but the phrase *saṃgham upete* and tradition is clear that he was only an *upāsaka*, though a very devoted one, to the very end.

The parallel cases of the Chinese emperor Wu-ti cited by Smith and Eliot and that of Amoghavarṣa, the Jaina

⁹ *Aśoka*, pp. 23, 109-10.

monarch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa line, rest on explicit evidence, and afford no help in elucidating the position of Aśoka. Those monarchs renounced and resumed civil life by turns. Smith indeed argues that 'Aśoka could have done the same,'¹⁰ but that would be different from the case he has sought to establish, *viz.*, 'that both, Aśoka and Wu-ti succeeded somehow in combining the duties of monk and monarch.'¹¹

B—The argument has been advanced that Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇis often figure as donors in inscriptions, and that consequently ordination was no bar to the pursuit of secular avocations, the ownership of property, the exercise of power, and so on. But this is a misreading of the evidence; the mention of the names of monks and nuns as donors simply means that they were instrumental in the collection of small donations that were accumulated and then used up in the manner indicated. The rules of the Order regarding individual ownership of property were rather strict (*SBE* xiii, pp. 26 and 235), and we have no reason to assume lightly that they were usually disregarded. It is too much to believe that Aśoka was a monk when he spoke of his women and fixed the menu of his court as he does in his inscriptions.

Neither the Calcutta-Bairat (Bhābhrū) inscription nor the edict regarding *saṃghabheda* can be cited to justify the view so alien to all known Indian thought and tradition that Aśoka made himself Head of the Church. A church in the strict sense of the term, organised on hierarchical lines, is altogether unknown to any of the Indian religious sects; the use of the term church to describe the *Samgha* can be justified only as a vague and loose designation for the order, which comprised an infinite number of independent *vihāras* which indeed owned a common allegiance to

¹⁰ *Aśoka*, p. 38.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 37.

the Buddha and the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha*, but regulated themselves each according to their own views of the *Dharma* and *Vinaya*. The Bhābhṛū edict does not necessarily mean either that Aśoka used his royal authority to recommend to his subjects the seven passages of sacred scripture cited in it or that Aśoka lived at the time as a monk in the monastery near which the edict was engraved. This unique edict is in the form of a letter from the king addressed to the *Samgha*, and for aught we know, it might well have been a circular letter addressed to all the important monasteries in the empire; it might have been engraved at *Bairat* not so much by the initiative of the king as by that of the head of the particular monastery, and far from asserting royal authority, the letter is couched in the most respectful terms and ends with the statement: 'I desire, sir, that many groups of monks and (many) nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the *Dharma*, and may reflect (on them). In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act). For the following (purpose), Sirs, am I causing this to be written (*viz.*) in order that they may know my intention'. This edict is no more than a record of opinion on the part of the emperor made at the conclusion of his *dharma-śravaṇa* in which he commends to the clergy and the laity seven passages in scripture that have made the greatest impression on his mind, the frequent exposition and meditation of which, he thinks, would be most conducive to the promotion of *Dharma*. Surely this expression of opinion on the part of the great king after so much study and reflection on his part must have been received with all the deference it merited; but we can hardly consider this as an instance of the use of royal authority, for so sensitive a ruler as Aśoka could not have imagined that enforced preaching and meditation would lead to any good.

In fact the Bhābhṛū edict may be taken to provide a

peep into one side of Asoka's plans for the propagation of *Dharma* within his realms of which we might have known nothing otherwise. He wanted to secure the constant and active co-operation of the *Samgha* in his effort to promote *Dharma* among the people; in his other edicts we see how he employed his official staff for this purpose; this edict shows the lines on which he thought the members of the *Samgha* could best assist in this great and good enterprise.

To turn now to the other edict regarding *Samghabheda*. With greater justification we can speak here of the exercise of royal authority, for the edict in plain terms orders the officials of the civil administration to see that within their respective jurisdictions all schismatic monks are expelled from the *Samgha*, compelled to wear white robes, and to live in places not suited for the residence of monks. But once more, the talk of Asoka taking this step as Head of the Buddhist Church appears to me to be misplaced. The late N. G. Mazumdar has discussed this inscription with great acumen in the *Monuments of Sanchi*, bringing together all the literary evidence available on the Third Council held in Asoka's reign and correlating them with this edict. Following tradition, he points out, rightly, that Asoka's liberality to the *Samgha* had led to abuses, and the *Samgha* ran real risk of being overrun by thousands of impostors and heretics who came crowding in for the sake of the income and the comforts which the emperor's liberality had caused to be provided for the members of the order. The best monks were shocked by the behaviour of these unruly elements, and withdrew from the regular monasteries to solitary spots in search of peace. Something had to be done to stop the rot, purge the *Samgha* of the intruders and restore its purity. The Third Council was held and the Schismatics expelled; but a rule had to be made, and vigilantly enforced to prevent

the recurrence of the evil. And this required the co-operation of the *Samgha* and the king. Majumdar is right when he says :¹² 'If promulgated by the *Samgha*, this order might have been easily flouted. It was, therefore, natural that the *Samgha* should approach the highest temporal authority for enforcing it on the fraternity.' But when he says further: 'In the three Edicts (Sārnāth, Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī—really three versions of one edict) Aśoka thus appears as a champion of Buddhism and Head of the Buddhist Church, bent upon preventing schism in the Order,' we are inclined to say: Champion of Buddhism, yes; Head of the Buddhist Church—by 'no means. For Aśoka would have enforced with equal alacrity similar resolutions of other bodies and groups, religious and secular, had they felt the need for invoking his aid against recalcitrant mischief-makers. It was the well-recognised duty of the Indian State in those days to keep the ring for the innumerable autonomous associations in the land to carry on their work along lines laid down by custom modified by their own regulations made from time to time to meet new contingencies as they arose. Majumdar himself points out that Aśoka honoured all sects and that they should uniformly prosper (RE. XII), and observes: 'This liberal spirit is quite in contrast with the rigid sectarian attitude revealed by the Edicts of Sāñchī, Sārnāth and Kauśāmbī.' The contrast imagined is altogether illusory and arises only out of his unwarranted assumption that Aśoka acted as Head of the Buddhist Church, while he was only doing his duty as king.

That Aśoka did not take orders soon after his acceptance of the Buddhist faith may be seen from a statement attributed to him in the *Mahāvamśa*, that is, if we may believe that the chronicle, in spite of the long period that separates its composition from the age of Aśoka, may

¹² *Monuments of Sāñchī*, i. p. 286.

still be accepted as representing the correct tradition on the matter. There were exchanges of embassies between the Ceylonese ruler Devānāmpiyatissa and Āśoka. The first mission was sent from Ceylon soon after the accession of Devānāmpiyatissa, and it returned after an honoured stay of five months in the Mauryan capital together with a return embassy from Āśoka. Āśoka's envoys brought with them not only valuable presents to be used in a fresh consecration of Devānāmpiyatissa, but they brought also 'the gift of the true doctrine' in the form of a message from Āśoka, saying: 'I have taken refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, I have declared myself a lay-disciple in the religion of the Śākya son; seek then even thou, O best of men, converting thy mind with believing heart, refuge in these best of gems.'¹³ This was in the seventeenth or eighteenth year after Āśoka's *abhiṣeka*; and the reference to the gift of the true doctrine cannot fail to remind one of the praise of *dhamma-dāna* as the best of all gifts in Āśoka's edicts, just as the terms of the message recall Āśoka's profession of faith in the *tri-ratna* in the Bhābhṛū edict; and his description of himself as a lay-disciple tallies with the statement in the Minor Rock Edict that he became 'an open Sake, (*pakāsa Sake*) according to the Rūpnāth version, or *upāsake* in Sahasram and Mysore versions,—coincidences which go far to set at rest all doubt about the authenticity of the *Mahāvamsa* tradition. If Āśoka was only a lay disciple in the seventeenth year after his *abhiṣeka*, surely he did not become a monk soon after his conversion, and the phrase *Samgham upa-ī* cannot be so interpreted.

I-tsing's mention of an image of Āśoka in monastic robes calls for an adequate explanation. This may be found in one of the two ways. First, Āśoka may be taken

¹³ MV. xi, 27—36.

to have worn monastic robes whenever he went to the *Samgha* for listening to the expositions of *Dhamma*, an act of courtesy to the members of the order from whom he got so much good instruction, and the image might have commemorated this. Or, secondly, Aśoka may have turned monk towards the end of his life after laying down the burden of imperial administration. And this supposition is supported by a little known passage in the *Divyāvadāna* which occurs in the *Aśokavarṇāvadāna*. It takes the form of a prophecy by the Buddha regarding the future births of a bull. After several divine existences, the bull would be born as a *cakravartī*, Aśokavarṇa by name. He will rule the entire earth in a *dhārmic* way and at the close of his life he will make many gifts, lay down the tasks of administration, renounce the world and take holy orders, and in due course become a *pratyekabuddha*. Here is the text: *rāj ā bhaviṣyaty Aśokavarṇo sapta-ratnasamanvāgataḥ . . . sa imāmeva anutpīḍām adaṇḍe-mahāprithivīm akhilām akāṇṭakām anutpīḍām abanḍe-nāśāstreṇa dharmeṇa samayenābhinirjitya adhyavatsyati. So'pareṇa samayena dānāni dattvā cakravartirājyam apahāya keśaśmaśrūṇyavatārya kaṣāyāṇi vastrāṇi samy-agevā śraddhayā'gārādanīgārikām pravrajya pratyekam bodhim sākṣāt kariṣyaty Aśokavarṇo nāma pratyekabuddho bhaviṣyati.*

III

Next I turn to the story of Kuṇāla and Tiṣyarakṣitā which is considered by Keith to be the gem of the *Divyā-dāna*. The outline of the story is well known; the charming youth Kuṇāla, so called for the particular beauty of his eyes, rejects with firmness and scorn, the illicit advances of his step-mother, who contrives, during Kuṇāla's absence at Taxila, to forge a letter in Aśoka's name ordering the blinding of Kuṇāla as the king had found

him guilty of reprehensible conduct towards him; the sentence is carried out, the blinded Kuṇāla wanders as a minstrel in the company of his wife, till he reaches Pātali-putra, is sent for by Āśoka who recognises his voice and learns from him the truth. Kuṇāla then recovers his sight by a miracle, and Āśoka burns Tiṣṇarakṣitā alive disregarding the pleadings of Kuṇāla on her behalf.

The literary power that marks the narration of this story in the *Avadāna* and in later works, Kṣemendra's *Avadānakalpalatā* for instance, is undeniable; and it makes a wide popular appeal in the telling of it and on the screen. But is it history? I think that only the names of Kuṇāla and Āśoka are historical, and all the rest of it legend. I reach this conclusion because the whole story turns upon a *motif* familiar in folklore, the vengeance of women whose love is scorned. See *Jātaka* 472, and Rouse's tr. IV, p. 117 n.3. Edmund Hardy, *King Āśoka*, pp. 66-7 also has a critique of the Kuṇāla story. And the suspicion roused by this fact becomes a certainty when we consider the name of the queen. Let me explain.

Not many words are necessary to support the first part of this argument. The reader may be referred to Penzer's valuable note on 'Women whose love is scorned' (*Ocean of Story*, Vol. 2, pp. 120—124) where several instances of the *motif* are cited and discussed, and the conclusion is reached: 'Thus we see that, in order for a story to be classified under the heading of this *motif*, the woman must make the suggestion, be repulsed, and seek revenge. This is the natural sequence of events which has proved so popular in every part of the East, whence it has travelled slowly westward.' The *Divyāvadāna* which is among the earliest records of this story may be taken to date from the second century A.D., some five to six cen-

turies after the time of Aśoka to which it relates; even so it happens to count among the earliest specimens of this *motif* as can be seen from Mr. Penzer's instances. But the distance of time that separates the narrative from the time of its supposed original occurrence is doubtless a real obstacle in the way of the story being accepted for fact.

The name *Tiṣyarakṣitā* means literally 'A woman protected by (the asterism) *Tiṣya*.' Now, as is well known, there is a certain emphasis laid on this *nakṣatra* in the edicts of Aśoka, and Fleet who drew attention to it, held that Aśoka's coronation took place on a *Tiṣya* day. He said: 'The fifth pillar-edict directed that on the full-moon day when the moon would be in *Tiṣya* (the full moon of *Pauṣa*), fish were not to be either killed or sold, animals found in elephant-preserves and in the fishermen's reserves were not to be killed, bulls and certain other animals were not to be castrated, and horses and oxen were not to be branded. The first separate edict at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa directed that that proclamation should be read under each *Tiṣya nakṣatra*, and on any suitable occasions during the intervals. And the second separate edicts at the same places ordered the reading of that proclamation on each occurrence of *Tiṣya* during the *cāturmāsya*-period, and, at pleasure, on any suitable occasions meanwhile. In view of the point established by astrological and other works, that the conjunction of the moon with *Puṣya* (*Tiṣya*) was a specially auspicious one for the anointment of kings, we can hardly fail to recognise something very marked in these allusions to that constellation, otherwise not easily to be understood. in the edicts of Aśoka.¹⁴ Whether Aśoka was crowned on a *Tiṣya* day, or he was born on such a day, it is not unreasonable to think that

¹⁴ *JRAS.* 1909, p. 31.

Tiṣya in such a name as *Tiṣyarakṣitā* simply stands for *Aśoka*. So that the queen's name simply comes to mean 'protected by *Aśoka*' which is hardly a personal name, but just an almost transparent mask for a flagrant invention. It will be remembered that *Samghamitrā*, 'the woman-friend of the Order,' the name of *Aśoka*'s daughter by *Devi*, according to the Ceylonese books, has been likewise held by some to be an invention.

But though the tragic story of *Kuṇāla* and *Tiṣyarakṣitā* seems thus to melt into thin air at the slightest touch of criticism, *Kuṇāla* himself is a real person known to history whose existence is vouched for by the dynastic lists of the *Purāṇas*, though we know little of him besides his name and his relation to *Aśoka*.

IV

Aśoka and Ceylon.

The Ceylonese chronicles ascribe the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon to *Aśoka*'s son and daughter, *Mahendra* and *Samghamitrā*, whom he had allowed to join the *Samgha* in order that he might be hailed as kinsman of the Buddha's religion (*Sāanadāyāda MV. V. 193—7*). They also state that *Aśoka* and his contemporary in Ceylon, *Devānāmpiya Tissa*, were great friends though they had never met; and record two missions from Ceylon to *Pāṭaliputra*—one of which brought back as presents from *Aśoka* all the materials necessary for a royal consecration with which *Tissa* performed a second *abhiṣeka*, and the other fetched the *therī Samgamitrā* and a branch of the Bo-tree to Ceylon.

*V. A. Smith*¹⁵ is inclined to distrust the whole of this story. With *Oldenberg* he is sceptical about the tale of *Samghamitrā* the supposed daughter of *Aśoka*, because

¹⁵ *Aśoka*, pp. 44—50.

her name 'friend of the order' is a transparent invention. He thinks it much more likely that the conversion of Ceylon was a work of time, 'the fruit of long and continuous intercourse between Ceylon and the adjacent parts of India, rather than the sudden result of direct communication with Magadha.' And he accounts for the deliberate omission in the chronicles of all mention of Aśoka's missions to the Tamil countries by the hostility between the Sinhalese and Tamils in later times and by the desire of the Ceylonese monks to avoid any suggestion that Buddhism spread to Ceylon from the Tamil country. He says: 'The omission of the Tamil countries of Southern India may be ascribed to the secular hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the mainland, which naturally would indispose the oppressed Sinhalese to recognise the ancestors of their oppressors as having been brothers in the faith. The island monks were eager to establish the derivation of their religion direct from Magadha through the agency of Mahendra and his supposed sister, and had no desire to recall the by-gone days of friendly intercourse with the hated Tamils. Sound principles of historical criticism require that when the evidence of the inscriptions differs from that of later literary traditions, the epigraphic authority should be preferred without hesitation, and there is no reason to doubt the reality of the missions to the Tamil kingdoms of the south.'¹⁶

In this argument we may at once agree to two points put forward by Smith as quite probable—*viz.*, first, that Buddhism spread to Ceylon from South India and formed the natural sequel of the extension of the faith throughout India, and secondly, the hostile relations between the Sinhalese and the Tamils at a later time might have induced the authors of the chronicles to minimise and even suppress the rôle of South India in

¹⁶ Aśoka, p. 44-45.

this process. But is Smith justified in assuming a conflict between the inscriptions of Aśoka and the later literary tradition of Ceylon? The second Rock Edict on the provision of hospitals for men and animals, and the thirteenth in the section on religious missions sent by Aśoka to foreign lands contain the phrase *ā* (*ava* or *avam*) *Tambapamṇi*, which means 'up to Tambapaṇi.' Smith says that this phrase indicates that the river is meant, not Ceylon (p. 162). I do not see how Taprobane as the name of Ceylon was evidently known to Megasthenes and in Pali literature Tambapaṇi is used in no other sense. The suggestion has been made¹⁷ that *Ā Tambapamṇi* of RE II (Girnar) should be taken to stand for *Yā Tāmbrapaṇi* and translated 'what is (known as) Tāmrapaṇi'; but this is not correct in the face of the alternative forms *ava* or *avam Tambapamṇi* (cf. RE XIII), and we must Sanskritise the phrase as *ā (yāvat) Tāmrapaṇi*; but there is nothing here to indicate that a boundary like a river is meant. I am inclined to interpret the phrase as I have done above, as meaning 'up to and including Tambapamṇi, the island;' thus once more, tradition and epigraphy are seen to state the same facts in different ways. Smith has himself commented on Hiuen Tsang's mention of a Mahendra monastery at Hadura, saying: 'This interesting passage which shows how vivid the traditions of Aśoka and his brother continued to be in the south after the lapse of nine centuries, and locates Mahendra in a monastery to the south of the Kāverī, within easy reach of Ceylon, goes a long way to support the hypothesis that Mahendra really passed over to the island from a southern part on the mainland.'¹⁸

¹⁷ R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 132.

¹⁸ Smith, *Aśoka*, pp. 49-50.

DHARMOPANIṢAD IN MAHĀBHĀRATA

BY DR. S. M. KATRE

In the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*¹ I. 1,69 we have a reference to the compound expression *dharmopaniṣad* which has not been recorded so far in any Sanskrit lexicon, including the two great *Petersburg Dictionaries* or the *Nachträge* of Schmidt. The same expression occurs again in the interpolated passage 32¹ of the *Ādiparvan*, but beyond this, on a first reading, I have not been able to trace any other reference to it. The verse in question reads as follows:

mātror abhyupapattiś ca dharmopaniṣadam prati
Dharmasya vāyoḥ śakrasya devayośca tath āśvinoḥ
(I. 1. 69).

Devabodha, the earliest known commentator on the Great Epic², has the following scholium on the above passage³ explaining it: *Mātroḥ Kuntī-Mādryoḥ dharmopaniṣadam dharmarahasyam prati abhyupapattiḥ sarvātmanā pravṛttiḥ; dharmopaniṣadsambandhino darśayati: Dharmasya iti.* Devabodha disposes of the expression *dharmopaniṣad* by equating °*upaniṣad* with its well-known synonym °*rahasyam* which can be traced back to Upaniṣadic literature itself.⁴

Nilakaṇṭha, the latest of the Mahābhārata commenta-

¹ *Ādiparvan*, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukhankar, M.A., Ph.D., Poona, 1927-33, with the co-operation of several scholars.

² Sukhankar, *Epic Studies* V, "Notes on Mahābhārata commentators." *Annals BORI* 17. 155-202.

³ Edited by R. N. Dandekar, Poona 1940, p. 9.

⁴ Jacob, *A Concordance of the Principal Upaniṣads and Bhagavadgītā*, p. 786 under *rahasya*.

tors, has the following gloss on this passage : *Mātror* iti ; *ca-sābdo* hetau. *Yasmād dharmopaniṣadam prati-dharmah* kulastrībhīr āpady apatyārthe viśiṣṭaḥ pumān prārthanīya ity-evamrūpo Vyāsa-Vaśiṣṭhādibhyo'napatyavatsu Vicitravīrya-Kalmāṣapādādirājadāreṣu drṣṭaḥ, tasya samrakṣaṇārthā *upaniṣad* : Durvāsasā dattā vidyā tām (dharmopaniṣadam) āvartitām Dharmādīnām mātroh mātaraū *prati abhyupapattiḥ*. According to him, therefore, *dharmopaniṣad* indicates the *upaniṣad* or 'secret knowledge' given by the sage Durvāsas for the observance of (*āpad*) *dharmā* 'begetting of children through supermen or superior beings' under extraordinary circumstances incapacitating the lawful husbands from exercising their natural rights.

The context of the *Anukramaṇī adhyāya* is explained in Chapter 109 in the *Sambhava* subsection of the *Ādiparvan*. Pāṇḍu goes out hunting once and observes a pair of deer in copulation and he strikes them with five razor-like arrows, wounding them mortally. Now it happens that this pair of deer in reality was a hermit couple who had assumed the form of deer in order to copulate. In human voice the male deer curses Pāṇḍu for his wicked deed, after an interesting conversation on the nature of the deed, in which several salient ethical points are discussed by the *Rṣiputra* and Pāṇḍu. This curse prevents Pāṇḍu from cohabiting with his wives, for such a copulation will bring about his own end, just as he brought the end of the deer in the very act of copulation. As a result of this curse Pāṇḍu leaves his kingdom for the forest where he is followed by his wives, and practises severe ascetic disciplines.

It is at this juncture that other ascetics advise him of the fate of childless parents which prevents them from reaching heaven. As a result of this discussion Pāṇḍu is overcome with dejection, remembering the curse of the

deer. So he calls Kuntī privately and explains his desire for progeny so that his austerities may not become fruitless. His appeal is couched in many fine dharmasāstra arguments on the types of children, and in conclusion he says :

uttamād avarāḥ pumsaḥ kāṅkṣante putram āpadi
(I. 111. 30^{ed}.)

and recalling his own incapacity to beget children, requests her :

sadṛśūc chreyaso vā tram viddhy apatyam yaśasvini
(I. III. 32).

These appeals are backed by an interesting episode about the ethical aspect of this ancient *āpad-dharma* illustrated by the story of Vyūṣitāśva and Bhadrā, which Kuntī skilfully brings in, urging Pāṇḍu to employ his superior Yoga power to generate children through her, just as the dead body of Vyūṣitāśva generated the three Śālvas and four Madras through Bhadrā. But Pāṇḍu overrides these objections on the part of Kuntī, quoting the authority of Śvetaketu Auddālaki, and the ancient examples of Madayantī, wife of Saudāsa who obtained Aśmaka as a son through Vaśiṣṭha, of the wife of Kalmāṣapāda and the wives of Vicitravīrya who followed through necessity this *āpad-dharma*. Kuntī apprises him of the boon given her by the sage Durvāsas while she was serving him in her father's house:

mantragrāmaṃ ca me prādād abravīc caiva mām idam
(I. 113. 34^{ed}).

yam yam devaṃ tram etena mantreṇāvāhayiṣyasi
akāmo vā sakāmo vā sa te vaśam upaiṣyati (I. 113.35)

and as a result she and Mādrī call upon the five gods mentioned in I. 1.69 and beget the five Pāṇḍavas.

Now with regard to this *Dharmopaniṣad* at I. 1.69 b, we observe the following variant: T₁ G₇ M (except M₁) *mantropaniṣad*, *dharmā*—being substituted by the word

mantra— in order to agree with the *mantra-grāma* of I. 113.34 or the well-known episode of the boon of the *mantras* given to Kuntī by the sage Durvāsas, referred to by Nīlakaṇṭha in his gloss. But this Southern variant is borne out only by one Telugu, one Grantha and three Malayalam MSS. As opposed to this, in the interpolated passage 32* attested by D₁₀₋₁₁ T G₄₋₆ we have the following four lines:

tāto dharmopaniṣadam bhūtvā bhartuḥ priyā Pṛthā
Dharm-Anil-Endrāms tābhiḥ sā-juhāva sutavāñchayā
Taddattopaniṣan-Mādrī cĀśvināv ājuhāva ca
Jātāḥ Pārthās tataḥ sarve Kuntīyā Mādryās ca
mantrataḥ

with the variants D₁₀₋₁₁ T₂ *dharmopaniṣado dhṛtvā*, and G₆ *dharmopaniṣadam śrutvā*, and there is no variant for the third line. Thus the manuscript evidence is definitely in favour of *dharma*—in *Dharmopaniṣad*, including the scholia of Devabodha and Nīlakaṇṭha.

P. C. Roy's translation of this verse is as follows: "Their mothers, that the ordinances of the law might be fulfilled, admitted as substitutes to their embraces the gods Dharma, Vāyu, Śakra and the two Aśvins."

Mookerji's translation of the same passage reads as follows: "In the forest Kuntī and Mādrī gave births (*sic*!) to the Pāṇḍavas in fulfilment of the ordinances of religion, their fathers being the five gods."

Roy would have *dharma* as 'law' and Mookerji as 'religion' and *upaniṣad* as 'ordinance' in both cases, *abhyupapatti* as 'fulfilment.' It seems to me that these English translators have missed something of the inner purport of all the three words by attempting a general translation of the passage as a whole.

The base *abhy-upa-pad* has the root meaning of 'to approach' and when the context shows the object to be a

woman, it develops a technical significance of 'to approach for sexual intercourse' for begetting children as a religious duty. Thus, *abhyupapatti* means 'impregnation of a woman' and the literal translation of I. 1. 69 would be : 'The impregnation of the two mothers through Dharma, Vāyu, Śakra, and the two Āsvins by means of the secret *mantras* compelling (the gods to perform the particular duty).' *Dharma* stands for *Āpad-dharma* and *upaniṣad* for the *mantragrāma*. It is surprising that the true meaning of *abhyupapatti* in this context is recorded only in a lexicographical work.⁵

⁵ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (1895) s. v. *abhyupapatti*,

VIKRAMORVAŚĪYA—A STUDY

BY PROF. K. RAMA PISHAROTI

'Love, when it unites heaven and earth, transcends the limitations of time and space.'

From the point of view of chronology and literary merit the *Vikramorvaśīya*¹ ranks midway between *Mṃlvikāgnimitra* and *Śākuntala*. The theme of the drama, the love between Purūravas and Urvaśī, is as old as the oldest strata of the Vedic literature.² In the course of its passage through the long vista of centuries, the story has undergone considerable modification and this has enabled the poet to reconstruct a dramatic version out of it without doing violence to the Puranic theme. He has successfully humanised the characters, enlivened it with wit and humour, introduced varied dramatic contrivances and lastly, added scenic attractions.³ Love between human and divine is always tragic in character, but the poet has lifted the tragic element out of the story and has made it an orthodox Indian drama. The course of love never runs smooth, but at the same time it never fails to attain the *summum bonum* of bliss and enjoyment, provided it is self-abnegating; and so the poet has depicted the love of Purūravas and Urvaśī as being characterised by mutual

¹ The references to the text are to the edition of *Vikramorvaśīya*, issued in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series*, No. xvi. The Roman figures refer to the acts, while the ordinary figures refer to the sections numbered in the edition.

² *Vide Appendix III* attached to the edition; *vide* also the writer's paper, *Vikramorvaśīya—A study of the Sources*, published in the Maharaja's College Magazine, Ernakulam, Vol. XXII, No. iii, pp. 206—212.

³ The subject is dealt with in Prof. Ryder's *Śākuntala*, published in the *Everyman's Series*.

sacrifice and surrender.⁴ The drama thus forms a thesis on love. An aspect of this is the theme of this paper.

The first act of the drama is composed of a *Sthāpana* or prologue and the main scene. The prominent sentiment of the act is given expression to towards the close of the prologue: it is the sentiment of fear and anxiety⁵ and it is carried over to the main scene, when the same words are repeated by the celestial damsels floating in the air.⁶ In striking contrast to this is the introduction of the king, riding in his own chariot through the aerial regions and announcing himself in strict royal dignity and reserve that he is king Purūravas ready to render help to the distressed.⁷ Anxiety and helplessness are here counter-balanced by valour and heroism—the former associated with the denizens of the air and the latter with a denizen of the earth—and the varied emotions are bridged over from the one to the other by the emotion of wonder. The king wonders that *Apsara* women should have cause for fear, being directly under the protection of Indra, and these are surprised that a mortal king should have come at the nick of time and volunteered help. Thus the opening of the drama presents a delicate emotion contrast which is happily enhanced by character contrast as well.

The main scene passes through three stages, the first running from the beginning till the exit of the king after the *Dānava*, the second till the entrance of Citraratha and the rest forming the third stage. The first of these is characterised by fear and anxiety, which are, however, toned down by wonder and the prospect of relief in the timely appearance of the king. In the next stage the king is glad that he has been able to save Urvaśī and is lost in

⁴ III—134, 140, etc.

⁵ I—8.

⁶ I—9.

⁷ I—10, 14 and 16.

admiration of the extraordinary loveliness⁸ of the woman he has been able to save, while the maid Citralekhā is still anxious that her mistress is not yet recovered from her swoon.⁹ As the scene proceeds, the sense of gladness, in the case of the king, recedes into the background and is replaced by love for Urvaśī¹⁰ and sorrow in the case of Citralekhā is replaced by gladness that her friend has completely recovered. As regards Urvaśī, the original fear and dread now give way to profound thankfulness and gratitude¹¹ towards the king which soon become metamorphosed into love.¹² And towards the close of the second stage, the main sentiment is one of thankfulness¹³ on the part of the nymphs that their friend is saved and that the king is unhurt, and they are therefore filled with respectful admiration for the gallant king, whom they bless with long life.¹⁴ Thus at the close of the second stage the emotions of the various parties undergo a specific change. At this stage, Indra's charioteer enters to convey to the king his master's appreciation of the gallant rescue effected by the king and to invite him to heaven.¹⁵ The element of honour contained in this invitation is equalled only by the modesty of the king, his respect and reverence.¹⁶ At the close of the Act the leave taking of the party is marked by the bringing into prominence again of the mutual love of Purūravas¹⁷ and Urvaśī,¹⁸ who go their different ways, casting longing looks at each other.¹⁹

⁸ I—28, 31 and 34.

⁹ I—28 and 34.

¹⁰ I—33.

¹¹ I—37 and 42.

¹² I—37, 94 and 95.

¹³ I—48 and 49.

¹⁴ I—61.

¹⁵ I—66.

¹⁶ I—67, 68 and 69.

¹⁷ I—78.

¹⁸ I—74, 75 and 76.

¹⁹ I—81 and 82.

Such is the emotion delineation in the first Act. The emotion of fear and distress, passing through wonder and gratitude into love-longing-for-union, in the case of Urvaśī, is artistically interwoven with the king's *Utsāha* which, passing through wonder and admiration, also becomes metamorphosed into love-longing-for-union; and this unfolding of mutual love is given an aerial setting,²⁰ not unworthy of the divine nymph and the semi-divine king.

The second Act elaborates the love-longing-for-union, and here the emotion contrast is replaced by emotion intensity. The interlude depicts the love-lorn condition of the king²¹ against the background of the foolishness²² of the Vidūṣaka, which is, however, balanced by the skill of the queen's maid.²³ The main scene can be divided as before into four sections: the first running from the opening of the scene till the arrival of Urvaśī, the second till Urvaśī manifests herself, the third till she makes her exit, and the last beginning with the arrival of the queen.

In the first section we have the king presented as pining for Urvaśī²⁴ and his love-pangs are relieved not by Vidūṣaka, but by a vague inkling of the coming union with his beloved, which keeps him hopeful.²⁵ Then Urvaśī is introduced as being completely overwhelmed by love-longing-for-union,²⁶ and she experiences a thrill of

²⁰ I—23. The stage direction there shows that they were till then floating in the air. *Vide* also stage direction after section 73. It is also clear from the description that the king was travelling in the air in his own car. The subject is dealt with in some detail in the writer's paper, *Kalidasa—The Dramatist*, published in the *Annamalai University Journal*.

²¹ II—1, also 9.

²² II—9.

²³ II—6, 8, 10 and 18.

²⁴ II—15, 35, 37 and 40.

²⁵ II—54.

²⁶ II—56, 57, 58 and 62.

gladness when she learns that the king is suffering equally for her sake.²⁷ It is a dramatic situation in which Urvaśī stands besides the king, unseen to him, listening to his tale of love-woe. She has now her doubts completely set at rest, if indeed she had any, regarding the depth and sincerity of the king's love, and naturally enough she becomes filled with ecstatic bliss. The intensity of king's love melts her heart, and she sends him a message of love on a *Bhūrjapatra*²⁸ and this gladdens the king's heart.²⁹ The mutual knowledge that love is reciprocated infuses new joy in both³⁰ and this attains full development, when Urvaśī manifests herself before the king.³¹ The couple experience the thrill of mutual vision and bodily contact,³² but, then with the rare restraint that is characteristic of the great poet, the new-found joy is not allowed to continue for long: for, a divine voice directs the presence of Urvaśī elsewhere,³³ and sadly she has to bid adieu to her lover.³⁴ The *Bhūrjapatra*, which has been the harbinger of joy and happiness, is sought after by the king as a source of relief,³⁵ but, thanks to the carelessness of Vidūṣaka, it could not be found.³⁶ Instead it has reached the queen³⁷ and has helped to introduce a further complication:³⁸ the queen is convinced of the king's new amour, and a new emotion complex of anger and jealousy

²⁷ II—83, 85 and 90.

²⁸ II—90.

²⁹ II—96 and 103.

³⁰ II—103 and 107.

³¹ II—117.

³² II—120: the stage direction following.

³³ II—124.

³⁴ II—130.

³⁵ II—137.

³⁶ II—138.

³⁷ II—145 and 146.

³⁸ II—151.

is introduced.³⁹ The second Act, then, develops the love theme of the king: first the intensity of his passion is set forth, then his hopes and their partial fulfilment by letter, and last the bliss of happiness by the vision of Urvaśī and her confession of love. Then it is raised up to the highest pitch, but later converted into love-longing-for-reunion through the forced departure of Urvaśī, which is further complicated by the queen's knowledge of the king's love affair and the consequent broken domestic felicity.⁴⁰ The struggle between unfulfilled love with reference to Urvaśī and broken pride and wounded honour with reference to the queen⁴¹—the one as strong as the other and each struggling for mastery⁴²—such is the emotion complex presented towards the close of the Act.

The third Act has two main divisions—the *Misra-viṣkambhaka* and the main scene. The former is an informative scene, describing how Urvaśī has been cursed⁴³ for failure in her duty by Bharata and how that curse has later been modified by Indra which enabled her to consort with Purūravas.⁴⁴ The main scene is given a handsome setting in the matter of time and space;⁴⁵ and there now meet the king, pining for Urvaśī⁴⁶ and the queen, haughty yet repentant and therefore desirous of appeasing the king.⁴⁷ There again the king has his first premonitions

³⁹ II—169-173.

⁴⁰ II—169—71 and 173.

⁴¹ II—143, 163 and 175.

⁴² II—175.

⁴³ III—10 and 12.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ A royal procession marching past and ascending the stairs leading from the banks of the Ganges, lit up below by torches and above by the rising moon presents an interesting picture and in a well-set stage it is bound to be very effective.

⁴⁶ III—33, 34, 35 and 36.

⁴⁷ III—15, 17 and 22.

of the coming union with Urvaśī,⁴⁸ which are utilised to introduce her as she floats through the air.⁴⁹ The entrance of the king, then of Urvaśī, and then of the queen followed by her exit—these mark certain well-defined stages in the progress of the scene. And throughout all these, except the very last, the predominant emotion is that of love-longing-for-reunion which has also an undercurrent of consideration for the queen in the case of Purūravas⁵⁰ and of jealousy for her in the case of Urvaśī.⁵¹ This undercurrent exhausts itself when the queen presents herself and permits the union of the king and Urvaśī.⁵² Consequently, the love-longing-for-reunion is again brought up to the forefront, and it attains consummation, when Urvaśī finally becomes united with the king.⁵³ As far as Urvaśī is concerned, she is first weighed with love-longing-for-union with an undercurrent of doubt, regarding the attitude of the queen⁵⁴ and the depth of king's love. These are allowed to exhaust themselves in the second and third stages of the Act. Urvaśī now knows definitely that the king is doting on her alone⁵⁵ and the nobility⁵⁶ of the queen's action not only reassures her but begets admiration in her.⁵⁷ This naturally fills her with unbounded joy.⁵⁸ Thus the hero and the heroine have their sideral emotions completely removed and both alike are filled only with one emotion—the emotion of love-longing-for-reunion

⁴⁸ III—34—38.

⁴⁹ *Vide* the stage direction following 38.

⁵⁰ III—85, 90, 92 and 97.

⁵¹ III—82, 83, 91 and 92.

⁵² III—102, 103, 104, 106, 108 and 111.

⁵³ III—118, 122, 123 and 124.

⁵⁴ III—44, 45, 47 and 50.

⁵⁵ III—61, 62 and 64.

⁵⁶ III—103.

⁵⁷ III—104.

⁵⁸ III—116.

which has been ennobled on account of suffering.⁵⁹ As in the second Act, but unlike in the first Act, here the emotion delineation is in the direction of intensiveness, rather than complication. There are no contrasts, but the necessary effects are produced by bringing into contact different parties moved by similar emotions. Acts II and III are characterised by great delicacy of emotion delineation.

The first three Acts of the drama form the first part. In Act I the seeds of love are sown between the human and the divine through pity on the part of the former and gratitude on the part of the latter. The air is made the locus of action, as is befitting the nature of the heroine who is a denizen of the air and of the hero who is a semi-divine being. Act II describes the development of this love which has become all-engrossing. The nymph forgets her heavenly duties lost in her new-found love; the king forgets his wedded love: in other words, both forget *samudācāra* in the intensity of their new-found love. Act III describes how the various complications which stand in the way of the consummation of their love are got over. Indra, out of gratitude for services rendered to him by the king, permits Urvaśī to consort with him for a period; and the queen, out of repentance for her haughty conduct, permits the king to consort with Urvaśī. Thus the human and the divine are brought together by gratitude on the part of Urvaśī's master⁶⁰ and repentance on the part of Purūravas' mistress.⁶¹ So far as Urvaśī is concerned, however, the enjoyment of their love is conditioned by her master; but such all-engrossing love, despite its innate tragic nature, cannot be evanescent: it must be made permanent. This is the theme of the next two Acts, which thus forms Part II of the drama.

⁵⁹ III—143.

⁶⁰ III—12.

⁶¹ III—22, 77, and 102.

Act IV is composed of two scenes, the interlude and the main scene. In the former, we are regaled to a conversation between Citralekhā and her nurse, which describes the calamity which has befallen Purūravas,⁶² and which also suggests the possibility of their reunion.⁶³ The new-found happiness of the couple is disturbed by a touch of jealousy,⁶⁴ as is always the case with such unnatural love, and, as fate would have it, Urvaśī becomes transformed into a creeper⁶⁵ and the king becomes steeped in intense misery.⁶⁶ The dramatist moralises that such must be end of such love⁶⁷—unnatural so far as the parties are concerned, unnatural in its intensity, and unnatural as far as the mode of enjoyment is concerned.⁶⁸ At the same time there is hope expressed of a reunion. This scene forms a happy contrast to the last stage of the last Act: here the *Sambhoga-śṛṅgāra* becomes transformed into genuine *Vipralambha*, idealised love-longing-for-reunion.⁶⁹

The main scene opens with the king himself who appears madness personified,⁷⁰ a madness which is the

⁶² IV—8-12.

⁶³ IV—13.

⁶⁴ IV—8.

⁶⁵ IV—10.

⁶⁶ IV—12.

⁶⁷ IV—11.

⁶⁸ IV—6 and 7.

⁶⁹ IV—13.

⁷⁰ Here one interesting point deserves to be noticed: the hero is in a demented condition and as such, words do not count, cannot be taken at their face value. Indeed nobody attaches much significance to the ravings of a mad man, even when his words are true and significant. Naturally enough we do not attach much importance to his words. Similarly, here we should not attach much importance to the words uttered by the king. Their value lies, as in the case of a mad man, in their suggestive sense: we have to take them as indicating the stage of his malady, that is the keenness of his love-woe. This is an important aspect of this scene. The investation of a love-mad man's incoherent utterances with significance and their presentation in an artistic form is the unique achievement of the art of the great dramatist.

necessary result of deep and intense sorrow. He roams about in the Gandhamādana forest in search of his beloved.⁷¹ He is convinced that Urvaśī cannot be far away, because such is the intensity of their love and hence, he believes that she must be hiding somewhere near to tease him.⁷² Thus he justifies his search. It reaches the second stage when Urvaśī reappears,⁷³ the way for which has already been prepared by the acquisition of the Saṅgamaṇi gem⁷⁴ and the assurance given by a divine voice.⁷⁵ The description of the sorrow of separation and the joy of reunion rises up to the highset pitch, only the latter is drawn not in the same high pitch as the sorrow. It is a highly poetic scene and forms a notable instance of the description of *Vipralambha-Śṛṅgāra*, rivalled, if at all, only by that in that perfect gem of a lyric, the *Meghasandēśa*.

The fourth Act describes the quest of beauty. Purūravas sees beauty everywhere, but not the ideal he has realised. Likeness to his beloved he sees in the varied aspects of nature and he conceives human life one with the environments, co-extensive with nature—fauna, flora, inanimate nature, such as running brooks, mountain peaks, clouds, etc., beauty being the unifying factor. Wherever is beauty present, there Purūravas suspects the presence of his beloved, Urvaśī, who combines the ideal with the real, so far at least as he is concerned. Here, then, is unity of all life elaborated on an aesthetic basis. Creative beauty is charming whatever be the form in which it appears: an antelope, a swan, a river, a cuckoo, a tree,

⁷¹ IV—14: the stage direction preceding.

⁷² IV—6 and 12.

⁷³ IV—18.

⁷⁴ *Vide* the stage direction following IV—53.

⁷⁵ IV—49.

⁷⁶ IV—50.

or an elephant—each one of these can be as delightful as any human form that an artist can bring into existence. This is the great lesson that the poet teaches in this Act. And finally, the king realises his ideal of beauty not in glorious things, but in a simple creeper void of tendrils,⁷⁶ void of shoots, void of buds, void of flowers; it is such a plant that yields him the delight of his heart. The ideal of beauty is thus always subjective in character and it has to be realised through the real which comes within the purview of the individual.

The fifth Act is of one scene, passing through a number of stages. Vidūṣaka opens the scene: he is happy that the king has returned from the Nandana forest and is ruling the kingdom happily with, however, one source of sorrow that he is childless.⁷⁷ The lifting of this sorrow involves the prospect of a deeper sorrow. This constitutes the complicating factor of the Act. The tone of sadness is emphasised and made more acute by the loss of the Saṅgamaṇi jewel, which is picked up by an eagle, mistaking it for a piece of flesh,⁷⁸ and it sets the whole court astir. This sadness is balanced by a touch of valour,⁷⁹ when the king starts in pursuit thereof.⁸⁰ But the eagle darts away and is soon beyond the arrow of the king⁸¹ and therefore with orders to watch the bird as it returns to its roost,⁸² he returns immersed in sorrow, not that he lost a jewel, but the jewel which reunited him with his beloved.⁸³ Before long, news is brought that the bird is killed and the gem recovered;⁸⁴ and with the gem is brought the arrow

⁷⁷ IV—52.

⁷⁸ V—1.

⁷⁹ V—2 and 3.

⁸⁰ V—4 and 6.

⁸¹ *Vide* stage direction after V—S.

⁸² V—13.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ V—16.

which killed the bird—the arrow marked with the name of *Ayus*.⁸⁵ The king is glad and he is gladder of the prospect of his having a son born to him.⁸⁶ With the entrance of the son,⁸⁷ the second stage of the scene is ushered in and this raised the king's gladness to its highest pitch.⁸⁸ Then the question rises : why did Urvaśī hide his son from him ? This doubt, as the sequel shows, becomes a source of very poignant sorrow. Urvaśī comes and explains why the child has been kept away and what the result is of his seeing him.⁸⁹ The touch of tenderness and simplicity marks the leave taking of Urvaśī: the story is unfolded in all its details and everybody is drowned in intense sorrow. At this supreme moment is introduced Nārada⁹⁰ who brings the glad tidings that Urvaśī is permitted to consort with the king till his death.⁹¹ This is very happy news and all are immersed in bliss ecstatic, which reaches its peak when *Ayus* is crowned king by Nārada himself.⁹² Be it, however, noted that there is here introduced a change in the nature of the love : romance or *Kāma* is replaced by a *Dharma* element.⁹³

We have in the preceding sketched briefly the development of the emotion of love in the *Vikramorvaśīya*; and our study shows that the drama portrays love in its two aspects of love-in-enjoyment and love-in-suffering. The delineation is characterised not by great contrasts, not by serious complications, not by unexpected resolutions, but

⁸⁵ V—18.

⁸⁶ V—22 and 29.

⁸⁷ V—29 and 30.

⁸⁸ *Vide* stage direction following V—37.

⁸⁹ V—40 and 60.

⁹⁰ V—95.

⁹¹ V—105.

⁹² V—120.

⁹³ V—127.

⁹⁴ V—120. Compare also III—13.

by delicacy and intensiveness, scarcely paralleled elsewhere in the whole range of our literature. It is supernatural love; it has an elevated tone about it, not unworthy of the great hero, not unworthy of the celestial nymph. On the face of it, it is not normal love: but Purūravas suffers again and again, and thus makes himself worthy of the love of a celestial nymph. Thus the whole drama forms a thesis on love.

We shall not better conclude this brief study than with a reference to what appears to be an abnormal condition imposed upon the union of Purūravas and Urvaśī. The fruition of their love in the shape of a son is to be the end of the bliss of love;⁹⁴ and note Urvaśī is to separate from the king, only when the latter visualises his child.⁹⁵ What it may be asked the rationale of this queer condition imposed their enjoyment of love and that by Indra who wishes well by both?

Urvaśī is a celestial and she has therefore her well-defined duties in heaven,⁹⁶ while Purūravas is a mortal. Hence permanency for this love is impossible and it must necessarily have a time-limit. The condition imposed gives, as the sequel shows, freedom of fixing up the time-limit to Urvaśī and this explains why Purūravas is kept ignorant of the condition. Being a celestial, Urvaśī can presumably control conception and, if by an accident, conception takes place, she can, if necessary, hide her issue from the king. Urvaśī thus gets freedom to leave Purūravas when she feels tired of him, unless she is forced to leave him earlier by an accidental breach of the condition. In other words, the time-limit laid down ensures the union of the couple so long as there is mutual love present, in the absence of which the woman is free to move away: that is to say, it is based upon not external circumstances,

⁹⁴ III—13.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

but upon mutual sex-appeal and sex-attraction; and at the same time, it provides for the birth of an issue for Purūravas, whose one source of sorrow has been childlessness.⁹⁷ Thus, it will be seen that the condition imposed is after all not so unnatural as it apparently looks: on the other hand it takes full cognisance of the peculiar nature of this most human of all emotions and at the same time it does not take away from the grace of the gift which Indra makes to his friend and ally Purūravas and to his favourite mistress.⁹⁸

As the sequel shows, it is again accident, and not satiation of love that raises the prospect of separation.⁹⁹ This is well revealed in the extreme sorrow with which Urvaśī prepares for her departure¹⁰⁰ and the king's loss of interest in life,¹⁰¹ who therefore prepares to renounce life.¹⁰² Accident has brought the couple together and here accident is about to force them apart, despite their intense mutual love; and so accident¹⁰³ again helps them to continue in the path of love. The prospect of a war between the Devas and Asuras necessitates that Purūravas should not renounce life, and this necessitates that Indra should allow Urvaśī to stay with Purūravas. And this continuance of conjugal bliss is perfectly in keeping with the beginnings of their love: it begins in king's heroism and Urvaśī's helplessness, and it is now made permanent because of the king's heroism and Indra's helplessness. None but the brave wins the fair, and none but the brave can keep the fair after winning.

⁹⁷ *Vide* I—13.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ III—12.

¹⁰⁰ The getting of the arrow and the recognition of Ayus are accidental.

¹⁰¹ V—91 and 95.

¹⁰² V—99.

¹⁰³ V—120 and 123.

In this phase of the delineation of love there is revealed another interesting trait: it is eminently human from the beginning to the end; and like all romantic love, the more important stages of its growth and development are controlled by accident, or to use the familiar Indian expression, *Fate*. Indeed Love transcends the limitations of time and space.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE ĀGAMAŚĀSTRA OF GAUḌAPĀDA : edited, translated and annotated. By Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Pp. cxlvi+308. University of Calcutta, 1943.

The present work popularly known as *Māṇḍūkya-kārikā* or *Gauḍapādakārikā* is also called *Āgamaśāstra*, perhaps because in the colophons of certain MSS of the commentary by Śaṅkara, the name *Āgamaśāstravivaraṇa* has been found mentioned. It is one of the most important works on the origin of Vedānta due to which the work is sometimes named *Vedāntamūla* also.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Śāstrī has been working on it for over twenty years and it is gratifying to see the results of his studies in such an excellent form. He has taken great pains in placing before the scholarly world a correct text with the help of several MSS. His introduction, notes, etc., are quite exhaustive and comprehensive. The scholarly world is indebted to Śāstrī for this excellent edition of *Gauḍapādakārikā*. Prof. Śāstrī's contributions to Indian Philosophy, particularly Buddhism, is too well known. Several years ago he advocated that there is enough influence of Buddhism on Gauḍapāda. He holds the same view even now. Gradually he has become much more confirmed in his view. He is not at all satisfied with the interpretation of Śaṅkara, and thinks that Gauḍapāda, though a true *Advaitin*, is influenced by the Buddhist thoughts. He identifies the view of Gauḍapāda with that of the *Vijñānavāda*. It is true, holds Prof. Śāstrī, that Gauḍapāda advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās*, but certainly, he takes the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* as the basis for his statement, and thus shows that there is an agreement between Vedānta and *Vijñānavāda*. Prof. Śāstrī says: "This Upaniṣadic seed of

idealism, being influenced by its elaborate system in Buddhism and the vast literature on it by the Buddhist teachers who flourished before Gauḍapāda, has developed into what we now find in the *Āgamaśāstra*. But when there are the above and the similar germs of idealism in the *Upaniṣads* it must be accepted that it did not first originate with the Buddhists, though it has much developed in their system later on, etc." Now, from the above also it is clear that the germs of Buddhist thought are found in our *Upaniṣads*, which have been developed by the Buddhist *Ācāryas* in later centuries, while the orthodox section did not make any effort to advance on what the *Upaniṣads* have said. It is also a fact that though there is enough similarity between Gauḍapāda and Buddhism, as has been shown by Prof. Śāstrī himself, their views differ in many respects. As such, would it not be then proper to say that Gauḍapāda with his wide experience of Buddhist thoughts has only been reminded of the original view as advocated in the *Upaniṣads* and has developed the same in his *Kārikās*? To say that the *Kārikās* have been written under the influence of Buddhism does not appear to be so satisfying when we can trace the sources of both to the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. If, however, we mean by the influence of Buddhism that the revival of the old view of the *Upaniṣads* was due to the influence of Buddhist thoughts, then there is nothing to differ.

As to the title of the book—*Āgamaśāstra*—the reason given by Śāstrīji does not quite convince us. If that treatise which is based on traditional doctrines be named *Āgamaśāstra* then Iśvarakṛṣṇa's *Kārikās* on Sāṅkhya and similar other books also will have to be called by this name; for we know that in order to show the authenticity of a work, it is found that its author always likes to base it on old traditions. That one or two MSS have got the name in their colophons may be due to the fact that the first

section of the book is named *Āgamaprakaraṇa*; and perhaps it may also be due to the fact that those who want to show that the *Kārikās* have been written under Buddhist influence would like to give this name to it. However, we are very thankful to Śāstrījī for placing before us a new line of thinking.

COSMOLOGY OLD AND NEW : being a modern commentary of the fifth chapter of Shri Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra. By G. R. Jain, M. Sc. J. L. Jaini Memorial Series. No. IX. 6 + xiv + 255. To be had from: The Central Jain Publishing House, Ajitashrama, Lucknow. Rs. 4-8-0.

The book under review is a free English translation of the Fifth Chapter of the well-known Jaina canonical work—*Tattvārthādhigama-Sūtra* of Umāsvātī, also known as Umāsvāmī who is believed to be the foremost disciple of Kundakundācārya. Umāsvātī, according to the Jaina tradition, lived from about 135 A.D. to 219 A.D. It contains ten chapters. It is respected both by the *Digambara* and the *Śvetāmbara* sections of the Jaina community. Even today it is read with devotion by almost all Jainas in private houses and temples as a sacred book. It alone teaches us an account of the logic, psychology, cosmology, ontology and ethics of the Jainas. Hence, it is regarded as a sacred epitome of Jainism. It has got a very fine commentary by the author himself. It has been published several times and has been also translated into English by Mr. J. L. Jaini for the *Sacred Books of the Jainas Series*.

Now, here is a fresh attempt to translate the Fifth Chapter alone with exhaustive notes into English by Prof. G. R. Jain. This chapter deals with Metaphysics, Physics, Chemistry, space, time, matter, heat, sound, light, motion, etc. The translator has not only taken great pains to explain the *Sūtras* in their true sense but has also gone

beyond the scope of the school to compare and contrast the views with those of other systems of Indian thought. This sort of comparative study is really useful and desirable for a comprehensive study of any system. But the translator has not confined himself within the limits of the various schools of Indian philosophy, he has gone beyond these and has made efforts to compare and contrast the views found in Jainism with the researches of modern sciences. Here there is bound to be some difference of opinion. It is just possible that we may have some common features in the two thoughts, but we know that the researches in the modern sciences are based on matter and such products of matter where one can easily have experiments performed. The modern sciences have purely materialistic outlook. The schools of Indian philosophy, on the other hand, carry their analysis of elements to such subtle stages as the modern methods fail to understand. Again, the Indian outlook is not merely materialistic but also psychic and spiritual. It is very difficult to extricate the last two aspects from our studies of Indian thought. Thus our standpoint being quite different, how can there be any comparison at all? Then, to try to find out the developments of the modern sciences in our systems also does not appear to serve any useful purpose. I would rather like, as the translator has promised, that independent efforts should be made on the basis of the data supplied by our thoughts to study critically what contributions have been made by our ancestors in the past and how far we can make any further additions to those. I think more useful purpose can be served by such independent researches in the field of knowledge than by merely making efforts to show and prove our superiority to the researches of others.

It is, however, very gratifying to see that the translator has made in this book an attempt to put before the English-knowing public and to the scholarly world at

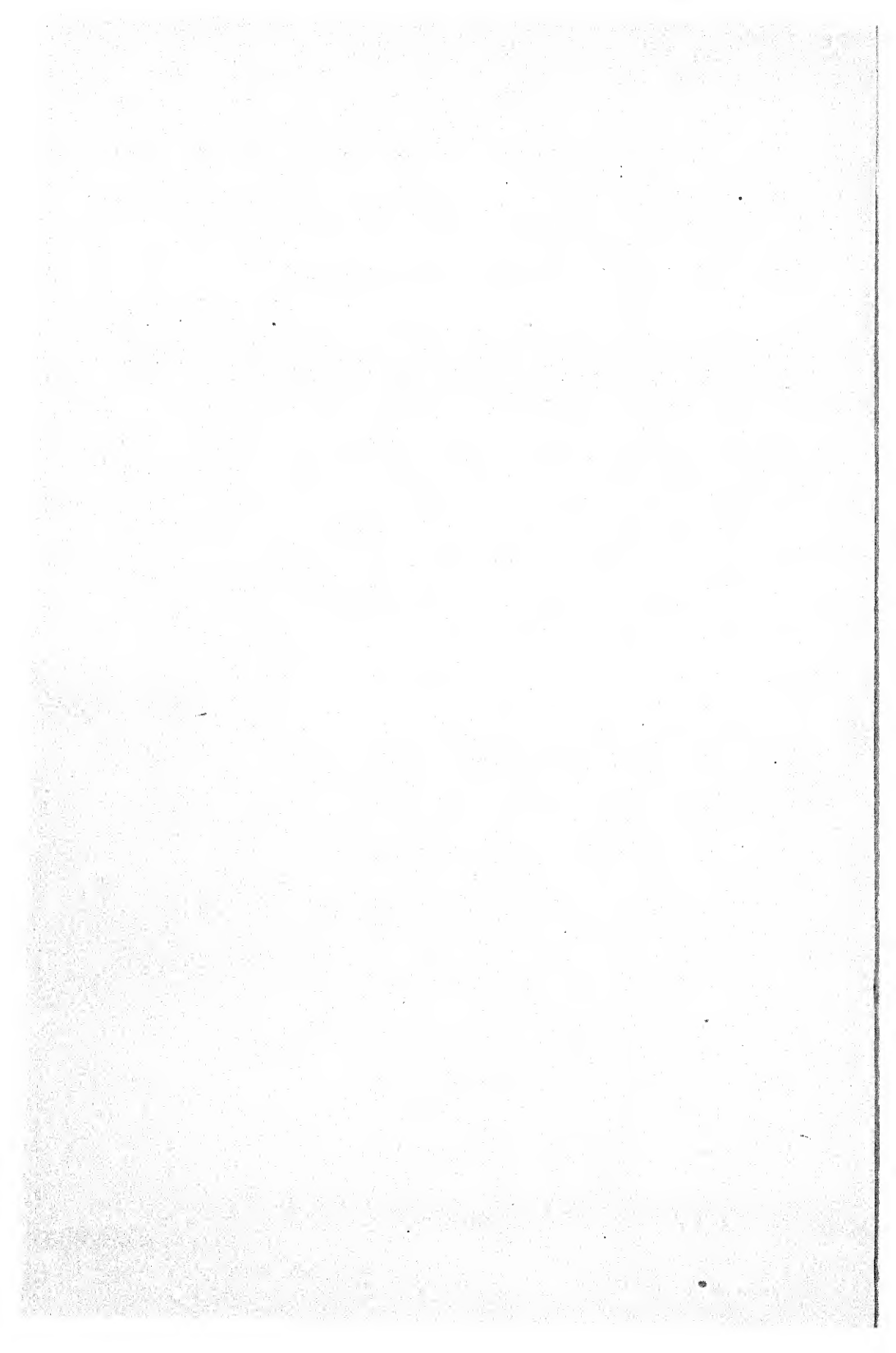
large, the contributions of the Jainas in the domain of cosmology and atomic physics and that this attempt is not to seek in ancient texts the substance of modern theories. No doubt, much work is yet to be done in this respect, but it is very necessary to keep always in mind that one does not become over-enthusiastic and goes beyond the limits of the texts. Then, again, it is also equally necessary to remember that while tracing the exclusive contributions of Jainism one should know that it is so in reality. It is a fact that the systems of Realistic thoughts in India have more or less contributed to physics and chemistry (*vide—Positive Sciences of the Hindus* by Sir B. N. Seal and *Hindu Chemistry* by Sir P. C. Roy) and it is very difficult to say which system of the thought has first advocated a particular view. Now, here in this very book Prof. Jain says —“The ‘animistic’ belief of the Jains that the plants are endowed with life, etc.,” but Mr. Jain is aware that almost all the schools of Indian thought believe in this and it is not easy to attribute this view to any one school exclusively.

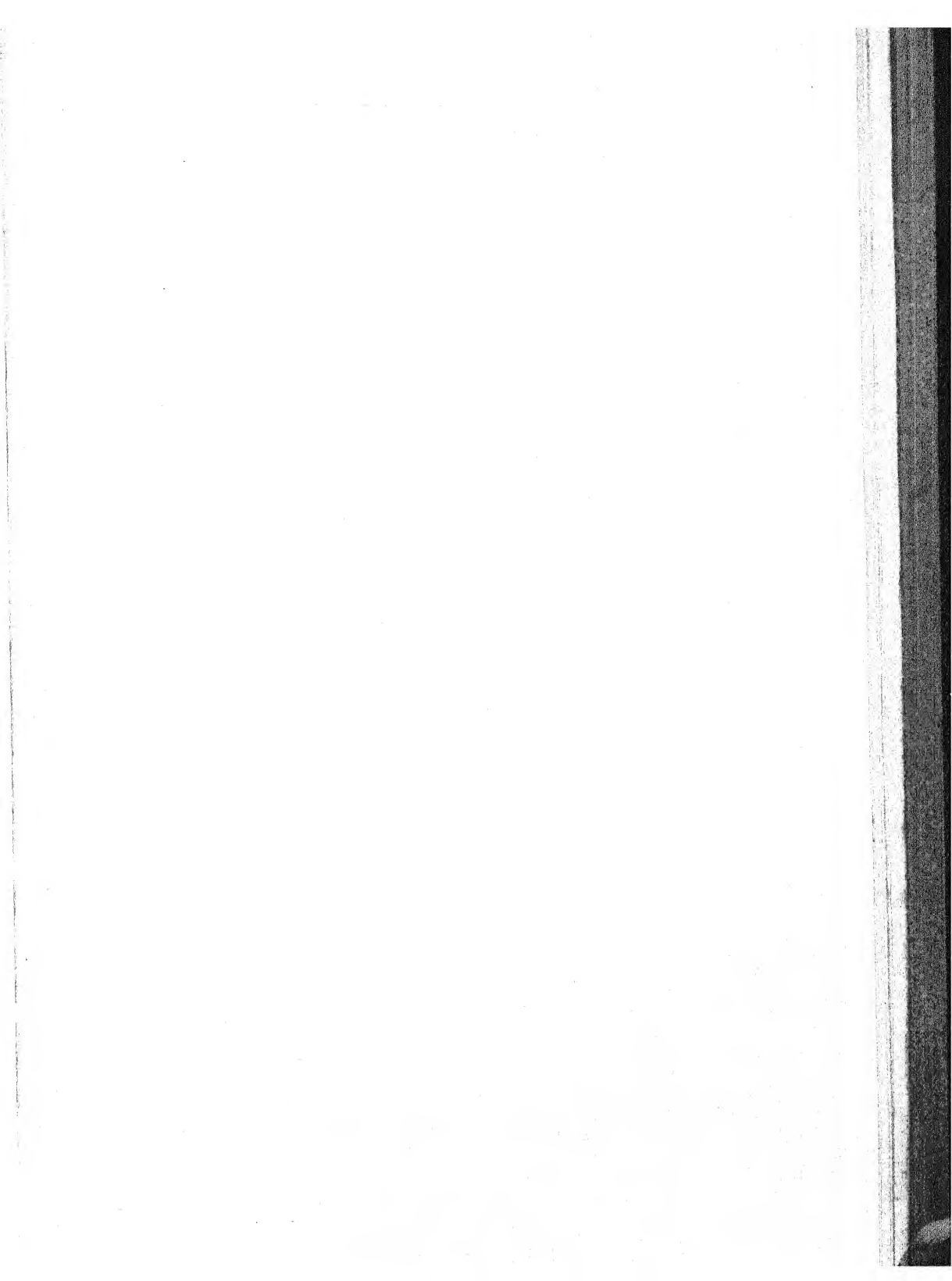
After these few suggestions I heartily congratulate the translator for such an attempt.

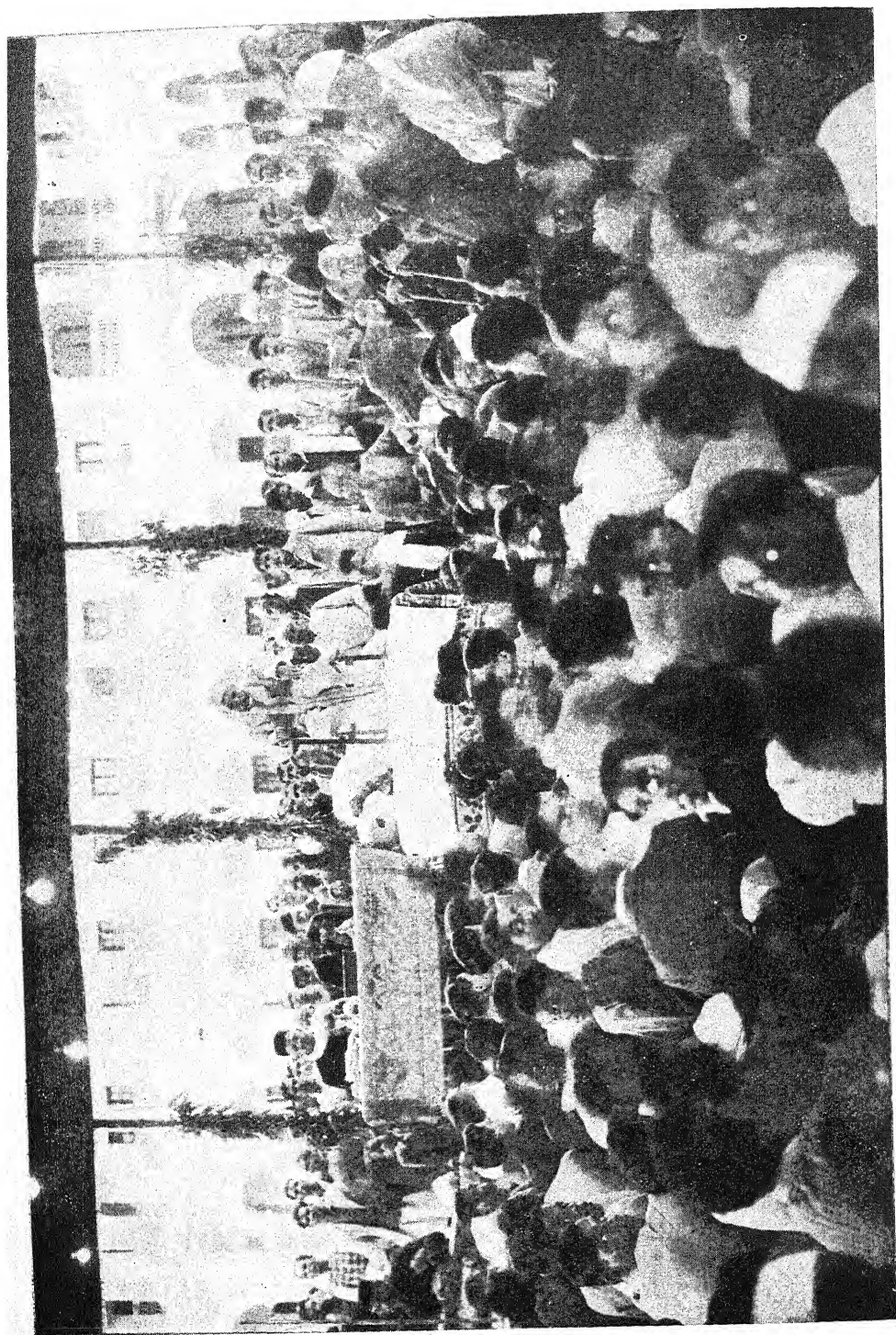
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5. The Puranic Date of the *Mahābhārata* War. By Mr. M. Raja Rao, Mysore.

6. Analysis of Verbal forms of Maithilī. By Pt. Subhadra Jha, Darbhanga.
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Gathering at the Inaugural Meeting of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

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[Part 2

CHANDAS

By VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

The word for metre in Sanskrit is *chandas*. But why is it so? Yāska says (*Nirukta*, VII. 12): *chandāṃsi chādanāt*. It means that metres are called *chandas* owing to 'covering'. Certainly this is a symbolical expression. For, literally nothing can be covered with a metre. The above explanation of Yāska is undoubtedly based on the following line of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (I. 4. 2)¹ or a similar Vedic text:

devā vai mṛtyor bibhyatas trayāṃ vidyāṃ prāviśan te chandobhir acchādayan, yad ebhir acchādayms tac chandasāṃ chandastram.

'Verily, the gods being afraid of death entered into the triple sacred science (i.e., the three Vedas). They covered (*acchādayan*, themselves) with metres. Because they covered (themselves) with them, therefore, the metres are called *chandas*'.

The following occurs in the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa* (III. 19): *chandāṃsi (chadayati)*² *chandayatīti vā*.

¹ Durgācārya in his *ṭīkā* quotes it with some variants probably from his memory.

Or *chādayati*. I use here Jīvānanda's edition which is not reliable at all. The following two words very clearly show that here at least one such word is wanted. Sāyana's commentary which is added to it in this edition is also not correct always.

And Sāyana explains it:

chanda saṃvarane chādayati varṇān i[ti]. tathā ca nairuktaṃ chandāṃsi chādanāt.

According to Sāyana we know from the above passage that the word *chandas* is from the root *chad* or *chand*, 'to cover'.

This is in fact the same as found in the *Nirukta* and the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* referred to.

Now the root of the word *chandas* is $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$. This is in fact one root though appears in two forms, sometimes as *chad* and sometimes as *chand*, just as $\sqrt{\text{math}}$ - *manth*; we have both *mathana* and *manthana*.

In order to find out the true or the intended sense of this root here and to ascertain thereby as to how and why the word *chandas* is employed to mean a metre let us discuss the meanings of some words derived from the same root, $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$.

In the *Nighaṇṭu* (III. 14) in the list of the roots meaning 'to praise' or 'to honour' (*arcati-karman*) in its wider sense we find *chandati* and *chadayate* which means, as known to us all, 'to please', 'gratify', 'conciliate'. In the list there is also the word *rañjayati* of the same meaning. Let here be quoted a passage from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 5. 2. 1), which will serve our double purpose showing the meaning of the root as well as the actual significance of the word *chandas*:

tānyasmā acchandayaṃs tāni yad asmā acchandayaṃs tasmāc chandāṃsi.

'They (the metres) pleased (*acchandayan*) him, and inasmuch as they pleased ($\sqrt{\text{chand}}$) him they are called metres (*chandas*).'

Mark also the use of the root $\sqrt{\text{chad}}$ in the word *kavichad* (*Rgveda*, III. 12. 15) 'causing pleasure to the wise'. This root meaning 'to please' is found in many cases in the Vedic and Epic passages. Consider also its employ-

ment in later Sanskrit in such words as *upacchandayati* 'one seduces, entices'; *upacchandana* 'persuasion, conciliation, enticing'.

For its further elucidation the following words may also be taken into consideration: In the *R̥gveda* (for instance, I. 92. 6) the word *chanda* as an adjective is found in the sense of pleasing, alluring. It also means praising (*stotr*, *Nighaṇṭu*, III, 16). As a masculine noun, it is used to mean 'pleasure,' 'delight,' 'desire,' 'will.'

It is to be noted here that the word *chandas* has the following senses: (i) desire, longing for,³ (ii) the sacred text of the Vedic hymns, and (iii) metre.

We know that by the primary suffix *-as* is made a large number of neuter nouns or action nouns, sometimes assuming a concrete value, and also in the older languages a few agent nouns and adjectives and a considerable number of infinitives.

Now considering all that has been said above we may think that *chandas* ($\sqrt{\text{chand}}$, 'to please', with *-as*) literally meaning 'pleasing' first meant a Vedic hymn as being composed in metre it was very pleasing when chanted, and then also gradually the word was used to mean the metre itself in which it was composed. Or it may be that first a metre itself was called *chandas* as it was pleasing, and then a Vedic hymn being composed in the former.

We should like here to revert to the views of Yāska, the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa*, referred to above, saying that *chandas* is so called on account of 'covering' (*chādana*). As said before this 'covering' is here symbolical, its literal sense being absolutely out of question. It may, therefore, be interpreted in the following or a similar way:

The gods who were afraid of Death (personified) chanted the Vedic metres so sweetly that he was simply

³ See *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini, IV. 4. 93.

charmed and as such could not see them as if they were covered and in this way they escaped from his clutches.

We have seen that Sāyaṇa in explaining the passage of the *Daivata Brāhmaṇa* writes *chandayati varṇān i[ti]*, meaning hereby, as it appears to me, that *chandas* is so called because it 'covers' the letters which imply here the *akṣaras* 'syllables' and *mātrās* 'moras'. Evidently the 'covering' here is figurative and it may mean the following or similar idea : In a metre the syllables or moras are fixed. You cannot add to or subtract from it at your sweet will even a single one of them without spoiling it, just as you cannot take out a thing from or put it in a box which is nailed and covered without opening or breaking it.

So far we have discussed the derivation of the word *chandas* from the root $\sqrt{\text{chad-chand}}$. But in the *Uṇādisūtras* (688 : *canderādeśca chaḥ*) it is derived from $\sqrt{\text{cand}}$ (originally $\sqrt{\text{ścand}}$) 'to gladden', 'to please,' the initial *c* being changed to *ch*. Readers are to ascertain as to how far this explanation is to be accepted.

THE MAGHAS OF SOUTH KOŚALA

By DR. A. S. ALTEKAR.

The Purāṇas inform us in their usual prophetic strain that there will flourish in (South) Kośala a dynasty of nine powerful rulers known as 'Maghas.' This dynasty flourished during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. and ruled over the upper reaches of the Narmada and the Son and had extended its sway right up to Fatehpur in the heyday of its glory. The history of this dynasty is still shrouded in considerable mystery. It is proposed to discuss it here in a connected manner with such material as is available at present. A large number of inscriptions of this dynasty were discovered in Reva State at Bandhogarh by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Deputy Director-General of Archæology. These have not yet been published. A summary of these records is being included in the forthcoming *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*. I am indebted to Dr. Chakravarti for sending me an advanced copy of the proof of this summary of Bandhogarh inscriptions, which I am thus enabled to utilise in reconstructing the history of the dynasty. A full and reliable account of the kings of this dynasty will be possible only when further archæological discoveries are made.

The information supplied by the Purāṇas is very meagre. They only tell us that there will be nine kings in this dynasty, who will be powerful and intelligent. The names of these rulers and the reign periods of each of them are not given. Their time also is not specifically indicated; the context shows that they must have ruled sometime in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries A.D. Kośala is mentioned

¹ कोशलायां तु राजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः । मेधा इति समाख्याता बुद्धिमन्तो नवैव तु ॥
D. K. A., p. 51.

as their home. Obviously South Kośala is meant. This province included a number of districts in Eastern C.P. but its precise extent is rather difficult to determine.

The Maghas of the Purāṇas are obviously identified with a number of rulers whose inscriptions are found in Reva State and at Kauśāmbī, and the names of some of whom end with 'Magha.' So far the following kings are known to us either from inscriptions or coins:—

1. Mahārāja Vāsiṭhīputra Bhīmasena. Known from Bandhogarh inscription (unpublished) of the year 51, (which gives him the epithet of Vāsiṭhīputta) Ginja inscription of the year 52 (*E. I.*, III, p. 306) and a sealing found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad, *A.R.*, *A.S.I.*, 1910-11, pp. 50-1.
2. Kochhiputta Poṭhasiri. Son of No. 1. Known from unpublished Bandhogarh inscriptions, dated in the years, 86, 87, 88. Possibly a coin found at Bhita with a legend doubtfully read as Praṣṭhaśriya was issued by him.
3. Mahārāja Bhadramagha. Known from Kosam inscriptions dated 81, 86 and 87 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 253; XVIII, p. 160; XXIII, 245). He is identical with Mahārāja Bhaṭṭadeva known from an inscription at Bandhogarh of the year 90 (unpublished); who is there described as the son of Mahārāja Poṭhasiri, No. 2 above.

A few coins of this ruler have been found; *J.N.S.I.*, II, pp. 95ff.

4. Mahārāja Śivamagha. Known from a Kauśāmbī undated inscription (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 159, a seal found at Bhita strikingly similar to that of Bhīmasena, No. 1 above (*A.R.*, *A.S.I.*,

1910-11, pp. 50-1) and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).

5. Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa. Known from a Kosam inscription dated 107 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 146), two undated inscriptions from Bandhogarh which state that his father was Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, a fragmentary unpublished inscription in *Allahabad Municipal Museum* and a large number of coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).
6. Mahārāja Bhīmavarman. Known from Kauśāmbī inscriptions dated 130 and 139 (*Indian Culture*, I, p. 177 and *Gupta inscriptions*, p. 267) and 9 coins found at Fatehpur (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95ff).
7. Mahārāja Śatamagha. Known from coins only (*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p.).
8. Mahārāja Vijayamagha. (*Ibid.*, p.).

It will be seen from the above list of kings and their inscriptions that many of the latter are dated. The earliest record of the first of them is dated in the year 51 and the latest record of No. 6 is dated in the year 139. It is clear that the records are dated in an era and not in regnal years. The facility of inscriptions dated in an era usually enables us to solve a number of historical problems; here, however, the case has become rather complicated because there is a wide divergence of opinion about the identity of the era used by these kings.

Inscriptions do not unfortunately mention the name of the era. We have therefore to determine its epoch by palæographical and historical considerations. Now, it is of Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman are

closely similar to the characters of Gupta inscriptions. It is, therefore, argued that these rulers must have flourished in the 4th and the 5th centuries. Messrs. N. G. Majumdar and Krishna Deva hold that the era used in the Magha inscriptions is the Chedi era starting in 248 A.D. (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 146 and p. 253). According to this view the dates of Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman would be *c.* 330 A.D., 380 A.D.

Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni refers the years to the Gupta era starting in 319 A.D. (*E.I.*, XVIII, p. 160). According to this view the dates of the above kings would be *c.* 401 A.D., 426 A.D. and 451 A.D. respectively.

Sir John Marshall, Dr. Konow (*E.I.*, XXIII, p. 247) and Dr. Motichandra (*J.N.S.I.*, V, pp. 95 ff) opine that the years refer to the Śaka era. According to this view the dates of the above kings would be *c.* 150 A.D., 175 A.D. and 208 A.D. respectively.

It is perhaps too early to dogmatise about the era used in these records; further discoveries alone can solve the riddle satisfactorily. I however think that the view that these years refer to the Śaka era is likely to prove the correct one. The main argument against this view is the palæographical. It is argued that the characters of these inscriptions are indistinguishable from Gupta characters, and so we cannot place them in the 2nd and the 3rd centuries, as would be necessitated by referring these years to the Śaka era. This argument is however not a decisive one. There are survivals of archaic forms in later inscriptions and anticipations of later developments in earlier records. We have a striking instance of the latter phenomenon in the Mathura inscription of Kanīṣka dated in the year 14 (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 96) which contains the typically later forms of the Eastern Gupta variety of the three test letters *m*, *s*, and *h*. A critical examination of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta inscriptions shows that there is no hard-

and-fast difference between Kuśāna and Gupta characters. It would, therefore, be too dogmatic to argue that the palæography of these Magha records compels us to place them in the Gupta period.

There are further circumstances which make it more or less certain that these Magha rulers must have flourished before the Guptas. If we refer these inscriptions to the Chedi era of 248 A.D., the date of Vaiśravaṇa would be *c.* 355 A.D. and that of Bhīmavarman 377 A.D. These rulers then become contemporaries of Samudragupta. This ruler exterminated all the rulers of the Gangetic plain; why then should not the names of these kings appear in the Allahabad inscription among the rulers forcibly uprooted by that conqueror? It may be conceded that Samudragupta may have allowed the Maghas to subsist as his feudatories. The feudatories of the Imperial Guptas in the most outlying parts of the empire invariably refer to their overlords in their records; they were never permitted to mint any coins of their own. Is it likely that in the heyday of his power Samudragupta would have ever permitted a feudatory house ruling not far from his capital to offer him the affront of having its independent coinage? Would not his iron hand descended down swiftly on the unfortunate heads of Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmasena for their insolence in not referring to their overlords in their inscriptions?

On the other hand if we refer the inscriptions to the Śaka era, the Maghas precede the Guptas by about 75 years. We can then well understand how they were ruling as independent rulers, and issuing coins on their own behalf. We can also understand how the Magha coinage shows no influence on the Gupta coinage. I therefore think it most likely that the era used in the Magha records is the Śaka era and propose to reconstruct their history on that hypothesis.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena is the earliest known member of the dynasty. Whether he was its founder or was preceded by some other ruler or rulers we do not know. But since the Purāṇas state that there were nine rulers in this dynasty and we have got the names of eight of them, it is not likely that more than one or two rulers would have preceded Bhīmasena, if he was not himself the founder of the dynasty. His known dates are 51 and 52, which according to our hypothesis would correspond to 129 and 130 A.D. respectively. Since the latest known date for his son is 88, we may take it that he ruled from *c.* 45 to *c.* 70, *i.e.*, *c.* 123 A.D. to 148 A.D.

It is interesting to note that no inscription of this ruler is found at Kauśāmbī. Ginja was the northernmost place included in his kingdom and it is situated 40 miles south of Allahabad. During his rule the Kuśāna empire was still in its heyday and controlling the whole of the Madhyadeśa. Kauśāmbī was on the highway from Mathurā to Pāṭaliputra and was under the Kuśāna control. The Maghas did not dare to cast their eyes on it. The discovery of a sealing of this king at Bhita need not prove that it was included in his kingdom; the sealing may have travelled with a letter sent to that place from Bandogarh, which was most probably the capital of the Maghas at this time. It is clear that the Kuśānas like the Moghuls in later times did not care to penetrate into the jungles of Baghelkhand and Reva and so Mahārāja Bhīmasena could rule there as an almost independent ruler.

Vāsiṭṭhīputta Bhīmasena was succeeded by his son Kocchiputta Poṭhasiri, who has recently become known to us from his Bandhogarh inscriptions. Since Śaka 88 corresponding to 166 A.D. is his latest known year, we may assume that he ruled from *c.* 148 to 168 A.D. His Kuśāna contemporaries were Huviṣka and Vāsu-deva I.

Five records of this king have been found at Bandhogarh and they show that his kingdom was in a prosperous condition during his rule. Merchants from Mathurā and Kauśāmbī are seen visiting Bandhogarh and making pious endowments for the purpose of constructing wells and excavating caves for Buddhist monks. His government had the paraphernalia of a well constituted administration: a foreign minister of his, named Magha, is seen among the donors at Bandhogarh.

The Kuśāna empire was now on the decline and Bhadramagha or Bhaṭṭadeva, the heir-apparent, was bent upon exploiting the situation to the full in order to extend his kingdom. Magha, the foreign minister of his father, must have been his right hand in planning and executing the plans of expansion and aggrandisement. By *c.* 155 A.D. Bhadrāmāgha managed to snatch away Kauśāmbī from the Kuśāna control; we have his inscriptions at the latter place dated 81, 86 and 87 corresponding to 159, 164 and 165 A.D. We have the apparently inexplicable phenomenon of the dates of the father and the son overlapping; the former's inscriptions at Bandhogarh are dated in the years 86, 87, and 88 and the latter's inscriptions at Kauśāmbī are dated in the years 81, 86 and 87. We can explain this riddle by the assumption that it was the crown prince Bhadrabala, who had managed to extend the kingdom beyond Kauśāmbī by his ambitious plans of expansion. His father, therefore, may have permitted him to rule at Kauśāmbī practically as an independent ruler even in his own life time.

It was probably by diplomacy or a coupe rather than an open appeal to the arms that Bhadramagha managed to seize Kauśāmbī. The Kuśāna emperor Vāsudeva I may have connived at this aggression in a distant corner of his empire, as did the Bijapur Sultan in the case of Shivaji at the beginning of his career, probably for similar reasons.

If the reading *Prasthaśriya* of the legend on the coin found at Bhita is correct, it is clear that as a natural consequence of the growing importance of his dynasty, Poṭhasiri started the coinage of his dynasty.

Mahārāja Bhadramagha succeeded his father in *c.* 168 A.D. As shown above, it was he who contributed to the prestige and greatness of his family by annexing Kauśāmbī and the territories beyond to his kingdom. It was also he who started the regular coinage of the dynasty by determining its prevailing type. On the obverse of this coin type there is a tree within railing above, with a three-arched hill by its side and the legend below. On the reverse there is a bull, which is so common on the coins struck at Kauśāmbī.

The duration of the reign of this ruler, who ascended the throne in *c.* 168 A.D. is not known. He does not seem to have ruled long after the death of his father; for King Vaiśravaṇa, who was the successor of his successor Śivamagha, is seen ruling in Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. We may therefore place the independent reign of Bhadramagha between *c.* 168 and 175 A.D.

Mahārāja Śivamagha seems to have been the successor of Bhadramagha. We have no dated records of this ruler and so it is not possible to be dogmatic about the time of his rule. Nor do we know his relationship with Bhadramagha, which may have indirectly helped us to determine his reign period. It is quite possible to argue that Śivamagha did not succeed Bhadramagha and, that the latter ruled down to *c.* 185, when he was succeeded by Vaiśravaṇa. If we make this assumption, we shall have to place Śivamagha after Mahārāja Bhīmavarman, *i.e.*, after *c.* 220 A. D. He would be then separated from Mahārāja Bhīmasena by nearly a century. This seems rather improbable, for the seal of Śivamagha found at Bhita bears a very close resemblance to the seal of

Mahārāja Bhīmasena. On the seals of both, there is a woman standing on right and bull with crescent below his neck on the left. The name of Bhīmavarman is inscribed below the symbols and that of Śivamagha above them: this is the only difference.

The relationship of Śivamagha with Bhadrabala is not yet known; but very probably he was his son. He may be presumed to have ruled down to c. 184 A.D.

Mr. Govind Pai has argued that Gautamīputra Śivamagha, whose seal has been found at Bhita, was a younger son of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarsena I and was deputed to Kauśāmbī as a royal viceroy. The so-called Magha dynasty was founded by him. This view however is untenable. It is true that Gautamīputra, which was the matronymic of the eldest son of Pravarasena I, who predeceased him; and so it appears plausible to argue that Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the Bhita seal was his brother. Śivamagha however cannot be regarded as the founder of the Magha dynasty, for there is definite evidence that Bhadramagha, Poṭhasiri and Bhīmasena had preceded him. The seal of Śivamagha shows that he was intimately connected with Bhīmasena; in fact, as shown above, the seals of both these rulers are almost identical. Śivamagha was connected with the rulers of Bandhogarh and not with Vākāṭaka rulers. Śivamagha's currency also shows that he belonged to the royal family ruling at Bandhogarh and Kauśāmbī; for he continues the same type. The Vākāṭakas issued no coins at all. It would be then strange that a provincial royal viceroy should have started an innovation unknown to the parent dynasty. We have therefore to abandon the view that the Maghas were a branch founded by the Vākāṭakas. There is a chronological difficulty also in accepting this theory. It is possible to accept only if we refer the Magha dates to the Chedi era. We have seen already how this is not possible.

After a short reign of about eight years, Śivamagha was succeeded by King Vaiśravaṇa, who according to a Bandhogarh inscription, was a son of Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala. If we assume that this Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala is identical with Mahārāja Bhadramagha, the predecessor of Śivamagha, then Vaiśravaṇa would probably become a brother of Śivamagha. But such does not seem to have been the case. King Bhadramagha had assumed the title of Mahārāja in a number of his records at Bandhogarh. Is it then likely that he would have been designated by the lower title of a Mahāsenāpati by his son in records inscribed after his death? We must therefore conclude that Mahāsenāpati Bhadrabala, the father of Vaiśravaṇa, was a different personality from Mahārāja Bhadramagha, who annexed Kauśāmbī to his kingdom. Bhadrabala was probably a junior member of the royal family, possibly a younger brother of Bhadramagha. His son Vaiśravaṇa may have succeeded Śivamagha, because he left behind no heir. Or it may be that he may have ousted Śivamagha and usurped the throne for himself. It must be noted that Śivamagha had a reign of not more than nine years; it may have been a much shorter one also if we assume that Bhadramagha ruled a few years after 175 A.D. and Vaiśravaṇa a few years before 184 A.D.

The exact duration of Vaiśravaṇa's reign is not known; but it is very probable that it extended from c. 184 to c. 205 A.D. Śaka 107 or 185 A.D. is his only known date.

It was probably during the reign of Vaiśravaṇa that the northern boundary of the Magha kingdom was pushed to Fatehpur, where a large hoard of Magha coins was discovered some years ago. This expansion became feasible because the Kuśāna empire was now rapidly decaying. The Maghas thus became the southern

neighbours of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī. The rulers of Kauśāmbī very often used to govern Mirzapur and Benares also; whether Vaiśravaṇa and his successors did so we do not know. No Magha coins or antiquities have so far been found in these districts. From the Purāṇas we learn that the Maghas were ruling over South Kośala, which included the territories right up to Bilaspur and Raipur districts of C.P. It is quite possible that the southern limits of the kingdom may have extended up to these districts, though so far we have not found any antiquities of theirs to the south of Bandhogarh in Reva State. It is very probable that in the heyday of their glory, the Magha kings ruled over the wide territories extending from Vilaspur to the south to Fatehpur in the north. Probably they had two capitals, the ancestral one at Bandhogarh and a new one at Kauśāmbī.

Since the earliest known date of Bhīmavarman is 130 Śaka or 208 A.D., it is almost certain that Vaiśravaṇa was succeeded by Bhīmavarman in *c.* 205 A.D. Bhīmavarman's relationship with Vaiśravaṇa is not so far known, but it is likely that he was his son. Śaka 139 or 218 is his latest known date; his reign therefore may be placed between *c.* 205 and 230 A.D. Bhīmavarman has also left us his coins, which are identical in type with the coins issued by his predecessors. No incidents of his reign are known.

Kings Śatamagha and Vijayamagha have recently come to light through numismatic discoveries. The present writer discovered their coins in the valuable coin collection of Rai Bahadur B. M. Vyas of Allahabad. They are similar in type to the coins of the other Magha rulers and therefore clearly show that they belonged to the same dynasty. We have seen already how we cannot place these kings anywhere between Bhīmasena and Bhīmavarman; we must therefore presume that they succeeded

the latter king. No inscriptions, dated or undated, of these kings have been found so far and so we can only tentatively fix their reign period between 230 to 275 A.D.

Whether any other Magha king succeeded them, we do not know. Most probably the dynasty came to an end in *c.* 275 A.D. Numismatic evidence shows that it was succeeded by King Nava, whose coins are an exact copy of the Magha coins. Sometime after Nava came King Puśvaśrī, who seems to have been a contemporary of the early Gupta kings at Kauśāmbī.

CANDRAŚEKHARA SMṚTIVĀCASPATI

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Determination of the real identity of authors is a difficult problem in the history of Indian literature.¹ The same person had different names (especially in the case of Tantric writers) and titles one or other of which was used in different works written by him. Then there was the temptation to pass later works of less known authors under the names of earlier celebrities. It is not also unknown that more than one author possessed the same name or title. These facts are responsible for a good deal of confusion resulting in wrong identifications of authors of different periods and different parts of the country. One among numerous such cases is dealt with in the present note. A number of works variously attributed to the well-known Vācaspati Miśra of Mithila² or to a Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara 'a Vārendra Brahmin who settled at Navadvīpa in the beginning of the 18th century and wrote many works on Smṛti' will be found to have really emanated from a different man hailing from Trivenī in Bengal—Mahāmahopādhyāya Candraśekhara Smṛtivācaspati who flourished towards the middle of the 17th century.

Candraśekhara was related to Jagannātha Tarkapañcānana, the famous author of the *Virāḍabhaṅgārṇava* which was translated by Colebrooke in his *A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Succession* (Calcutta, 1798).

¹ *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* [ASB], Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. XXXIII; *Festschrift P. V. Kane*, pp. 77-78.

² *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the India Office Library* [IO], Vol. III, 1490; *Descriptive Cat. Sans. MSS in the Sanskrit Coll. Library, Calcutta* [CS], Vol. II, 79; ASB, III, p. XXX.

As a matter of fact, he is stated to have been the 'brother of the maternal grandfather of Jagannātha,' who refers to him variously as 'my venerable grandfather,' 'modern Vācaspati,' or 'Vācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya' (Colebrooke, *Digest*, I. XVII, 133, III. 343). According to local tradition, however, he was the elder brother of his paternal grandfather (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 14). He composed his *Dvāitanirṇaya* in 1562 Ś.E. (1640 A.D.) as is evident from a statement of his own made in the body of the work (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 10).

The full name of the author seems to have been Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasekhara Smṛtivācaspati. But the different parts of his name are scattered in different places of his works. He refers to himself either as Candrasekhara or as Vācaspati in the introductory verses of his works. An idea of the full name may be had from the third introductory verse³ and the colophon of the *Dharmadīpikā*, in the colophon of one manuscript of which the name of the author is given as Mahāmahopādhyāya Candrasekhara.⁴

The author does not give any genealogical account in detail. He mentions his grandfather Vidyābhūṣaṇa who is stated to have been versed in the six systems of Philosophy. The father though not mentioned by name is also stated to have been a scholar like his grandfather. In fact, Candrasekhara states that he was a pupil of his father.⁵ A work of the grandfather called the *Ahnikā-*

³ श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना ख्यातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ ।

⁴ R. L. Mitra—*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, V. 1919. Here the work is called *Dharmariveka*.

⁵ विद्याभूषणविख्यातः षड्दर्शनमतं सुधीः । तत्सुतस्तादृशो धीमान् ततोधीती च तत्सुतः ॥

श्रीचन्द्रशेखरो नाम्ना ख्यातो वाचस्पतिः स्मृतौ । स्मृतीनां च प्रकाशार्थं तनोतीमां प्रदीपिकाम् ॥

—Introductory verses Nos. 2-3 of the *Dharmadīpikā*.

According to Keith and Thomas (*IO*. Vol. II. 5919) as also Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 597) Vidyābhūṣaṇa was the father of Candrasekhara.

mīmāṃsā is referred to in the author's *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha*.⁶ Reference is also made to his *Durgotsava-paddhati* (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* (49. 11, f. n. 18).

Candraśekhara was the author of at least three Smṛti-Mīmāṃsā works⁷—the *Dharmadīpikā*, the *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* and the *Dvaitanirṇaya*. The chronology of the works is not known, but the third work appears to have been composed after the other two, as it has been referred to in each of them.⁸ The good number of recorded manuscripts of these works bears testimony to the popularity enjoyed by them at one time, though little is known of them at the present day. A reference is made to the manuscripts, mostly referred to or already described of these works :

Dharmadīpikā—IO. III. 1570, Vol. II. 5919; *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. I.G. 15, 3882, 5133), *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*—R. L. Mitra (II. 650, V. 1919), *Notices of Sans. MSS.*—H. P. Shastri (I. 192), *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat*, p. 250.

Smṛtisārasaṅgraha—CS, II. 203, IO, III. 1490, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), ASB. (III. 2074). *Dvaitanirṇaya*—CS. II. 79, *Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (No. II. A. 42), *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat* (Sanskrit MS., No. 1913).

⁶ विवृत्तं पितामहकृताद्विक्रमीमांसायाम्—*Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* MS (No. II. A. 42) belonging to Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 152.

⁷ It is just possible a number of other smṛti works were also composed by him (*Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā*, 49. 12).

⁸ व्यवहार्यता तु अस्माभिर्द्वैतनिर्णये व्यवस्थापिता—*Dharmadīpikā* (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. No. 3882, Fol. 34A). Also *Smṛtisārasaṅgraha* (Society's MS. No. II. A. 42, pp. 153, 161.).

⁹ This is an incomplete MS. of the work. It agrees generally with MS. No. 3882. Fol. 1-9A and Fol. 33B—40B of the latter MS. are not found in the present MS. In line 1 of Fol. 21B (=first half of line 1 of Fol. 33B of MS. No. 382) it is definitely recorded that some portion is missing in the present MS. (अत्रान्यत् द्रुतितम्). The second half of line 1 and line 2 of Fol. 21B agree with the last two lines of MS. No. 3882.

THE ISLAMIC CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL

By M. G. ZUBAID AHMAD

1. *Introduction.*

There has been a great controversy amongst the philosophers and thinkers of the world about the existence and nature of the soul. Several different theories were prevailing before Aristotle. Plato tried to explain it by his theory of the world-soul. Aristotle criticized all of them and defined the soul as "the first entelechy of a natural body which is capable of having life, that is, of an organic body designed for a definite purpose." Amongst the modern philosophers of Europe there is also a great difference of opinion on this problem. This controversy is not confined to the domain of philosophy alone. Different religions have got different notions of the soul, and so we find such terms as the Muslim'soul, the Hindu soul, the Christian soul, etc., in the *Encyclopædia of Religions*. In the following pages I propose to explain the conception of the soul according to Islām. I shall treat the subject from the theological standpoint rather than metaphysical, psychological or mystic point of view.

2. *Arabic words for the soul.*

For the soul, there are two words in Arabic, *rūh* and *nafs*. Both of them are philologically connected with wind (breath). The Arabic word for wind is *rīh* which and the word *rūh* have a common root, as is shown by the fact that the plural of both of them is *arwāh*. Moreover, the word *ruh* also means breath. For instance, take this sentence مَلَأَ الْوَسْطَةَ بِرُوحِهِ (he filled his water-skin with his breath). As to the word *nafs*, it may be pointed out

¹ Lane's *Arabic English Lexicon* (under 'rūh').

that it is derived from *tanāffus* (breathing, for which sense there is a special word of the same root, but differing in pronunciation, viz., *nafas*). All this proves that the idea of wind is predominant in both of the words. It may be pointed out here that they may be synonyms but they are not always interchangeable. We cannot say *قال في نفحه* in place of *قال في روجه* or *قال في روجه* for *قال في نفسه*. The sense of 'mind' is generally conveyed by *nafs* and so psychology (science of mind) is called '*ilmu 'n-nafs*'.

3. The word '*rūḥ*' in the *Qur'ān*.

The word *rūḥ* occurs 19 times in the *Qur'ān* and has been used in the following meanings:—

- (1) Revelation as in this verse

³ وكذالك اوحينا اليك روحاً من امرنا

(and thus we sent the revelation by our command).

- (2) Firmness, strength, etc., e.g., ⁴ ايدهم بروح منه

(He helped them with firmness, strength from Him).

- (3) The angel Gabriel, e.g., ⁵ وايدناه بروح القدس (and we helped him with Gabriel).

- (4) The soul, spirit which animates the body as ⁶ نفخ فيه من روجه (He breathed into the body of His soul).

As the *Qur'ān* does not concern itself with philosophical discussions, there is nothing to be found in the Book

² *Miftāḥ Kunūzu 'l-Qur'ān*, p. 284.

³ The *Qur'ān*, 42:52.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 58:22.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:253.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32:7.

regarding the nature and reality of the soul except this that the Prophet was asked at the suggestion of some Jews about the soul, whereupon God sent a revelation⁷ to the effect that it owed its existence to His command. The great scholastic Rāzī says⁸ that this reply makes two things clear about the soul, *viz.*, (1) the reality of the soul is that it is an essence, simple and abstracted from matter and unlike to the material creatures of God, and (2) it is not eternal as it is a created entity.

4. *The word 'nafs' in the Qur'ān.*

It is generally held by Muslim scholars that wherever in the *Qur'ān* the word *rūḥ* means soul, it signifies the animal soul, and for the human rational soul, the Book uses the word *nafs*. This word in its single form occurs a hundred times.⁹ It has two plural forms *nufūs* and *anfūs*. The former has been used twice¹⁰ and the latter one hundred and twenty-five times.¹¹ This word either means 'self' or signifies the human soul which is subject to purification and education. And this fact makes it clear that the chief characteristic of the human soul is its consciousness and its yearning for activity.

5. *Is the conception of the 'rūḥ' and 'nafs' one and the same?*

I have already discussed the philological meanings of these two words. As to their conception there is a little controversy among the scholars. Some say that both the words connote the same sense, while others hold that the *rūḥ* is the animal soul, while the *nafs* is the rational

⁷ *Ibid.*, 17:85.

⁸ Rāzī's Commentary on the Verse, 17:85.

⁹ *Miftāḥ*, p. 540.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

soul. There is also a third view according to which either of the two words may be used in both the senses. According to some *Ṣūfīs*, the *rūh* is the spiritual and heavenly soul whereas the *-nafs* is a material one. Al-Ghazālī says¹² that the words *rūh*, *nafs* and *qalb* respectively signify the physical soul, passions and the fleshy heart and all of them have also a common meaning, *i.e.*, the rational soul.

6. *Various views about the rational soul.*

Though the *Qur'ān*, as already said, is silent on the philosophical aspect of the soul except that it is an essence created by God's command, yet the question of the nature and reality of the soul is so important that it could not help engaging the attention of Muslim scholars whether pure theologians or pure philosophers. The former have discussed the matter in the light of the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet and the latter under the guidance of their philosophical ideas. These speculations regarding the nature of the soul and its conceptions do not fall within the scope of the present article. Some theories may, however, be mentioned here to show the style and the nature of these philosophical discussions. To begin with, in the first place there are two main divisions of these differences;¹³ according to one division, the soul is an essence *not* abstracted from the matter, in other words it is a substance. The holders of this view are again divided amongst themselves. The famous Mu'tazilite Nazzām thinks that the soul is a body and it is the mind.¹⁴ By a 'body' he means to say that the soul is the fine and subtle corporal particles permeating the human body just as rose-water permeates the rose, remaining into the body from the very beginning up to the end of life.

¹² His *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, Chapter I.

¹³ *Kashshāf isṭilāhātī 'l-funūn*, p. 542.

¹⁴ Al-Ash'arī's *Maqālātu 'l-islāmiyyīn*, Vol. II, 333.

It does not undergo any change. Ibnu 'r-Rāwandī, another follower of this material tendency, holds that the soul is an indivisible atom and it is in the heart because the heart is that part of body which acquires knowledge. Some say it is fiery atoms while others describe it to be airy ones. According to another view it consists of watery atoms which are identical with the four human humours, moderate both quantitatively and qualitatively. Physicians say that it is a fine vapoury substance which is produced out of the fine humours of the body and their vapours. Some of them identify the soul with the fusion of the elements.

According to the other division of the Muslim thinkers, the soul is an essence abstracted from matter and its connection with the body is that of control and management. Another important follower of this school holds that the rational soul of man belongs to the 'world of the Command,' *i.e.*, the angelic world, and cannot be measured, while the animal soul pertains to the 'world of creation,' *i.e.*, the material world. I need not mention other speculations. I should, however, like to state here the orthodox view.

7. *The orthodox conception of the soul.*

The great scholastic Imām Fakhrū 'd-Dīn Rāzī has discussed this question in his well-known Qur'ānic Commentary under the verse 17, 85. He has mentioned there various theories of which he supports this one. The soul consists of atoms corporal, celestial, luminous and of fine essence like the nature of the light of the sun. When the body is created and is made prepared and fit to receive these atoms (as is signified by the Qur'ānic verse ذُفِّرُوا 32, 7—9, *i.e.*, then he made the body) they are made to permeate the interior of the body like the permeation of fire into charcoal or of oil in mustard or of rose-water into the rose.

As long as the body is fit and sound to retain this permeation of those fine atoms, it is living; but the moment this permeation is stopped, the man dies. This is the view which has been accepted by such an orthodox scholar of great reputation as Ibnu'l-Qayyim in *toto*, who has advanced 115 arguments, of course all theological, in support of this speculation and then refutes all the criticisms brought against it. He says that this theory is supported by the teaching of the *Qur'ān* and the Prophet. But the present writer does not agree to this statement. There is nothing in the *Qur'ān* and in tradition that may support the idea of 'permeation' which was the general tendency of the ancient and mediæval schools of philosophy. The teaching and the spirit of the *Qur'ān* recognise an entity of the soul as quite distinct from the body. Its characteristic is its consciousness and its yearning for unfolding its potentialities.

8. *Five stages of the human soul.*

According to Al-Ghazālī, there are five stages of the human soul¹⁵ :—

- (1) The perceiving soul which perceives what is brought to it by the five senses and it is the origin of the animal soul. It is common to animals and human babies.
- (2) The cogitative soul which retains what is brought to it by the senses and puts them before the conceiving soul. This stage is not reached by babies in the beginning but after some mental growth.
- (3) The conceiving soul which conceives abstract ideas. This stage is not attained by a mere boy.

¹⁵ *Kashshāf iṣṭilāḥāt*, p. 543.

- (4) The thinking and reasoning soul which, by the synthesis and analysis of the known concepts, arrives at new conclusions and inferences.
- (5) The final stage of the human soul is the prophetic soul, which stage is reached by prophets and saints only. This soul sees the invisible and possesses the angelic knowledge.

Rāzī says that our experience shows beyond any doubt that all men do not possess the rational souls or mental powers of the same degree. According to him rational souls are of three classes: the highest and the sublimest, the mediocre and the lowest.¹⁶ He holds that the prophets and saints belong to the first class, Muḥammad the Prophet of Islām, being the highest member of this class. Their mental powers are so strong that they can perceive and conceive what an ordinary and mediocre mind cannot, and they are directly in touch with heavenly souls (a fourth kind of soul or mind, which Arabian psychologists have added to the three already existing kinds of mind, the vegetative, the animal and the human). Rāzī says that the more our soul busies itself with the affairs of the body and the world, the more our soul loses its contact with the heavenly souls. Here Rāzī explains the nature of dreams. In sleep our mind is less busy with the images brought to it by the senses and so it begins to work freely in its own way. If the mind is of a right sort, what it dreams, happens to be true. Rāzī further develops this theory of the strength of human soul and explains in this way what is called miracles.¹⁷ He says that a mind may be so strong and powerful that it not only can influence another mind in any way that it likes (and this is the foundation of hypnotism) but also can affect nature. According to Rāzī,

¹⁶ Rāzī's *Mabāhithu' l-Mashriqiyyah*, Vol. II, p. 417.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 418.

magic is also the reaction of a mind on nature like miracle. What differentiates the two from each other is that the object of the miracle is to lead the people to the right path, while magic is performed to deceive and cheat them.¹⁸

9. *The classes of souls according to their moral activities.*

A man's soul is held responsible for whatever he does. The soul which traverses the right path has been called *Nafsu 'l-muṭma'innah* (the tranquil soul) in the *Qur'ān*, the soul which does evil acts but at the same time reproaches itself for that, is termed as *nafsu 'l-lawwāmah* (the repenting soul) and the evil soul is called *nafsu 'l-ammārah* (the lustful and sensual soul).

10. *Is the human soul the soul of God?*

In three *Qur'ānic* verses occurring at different places in connection with the creation of Adam, God has said that He breathed of His spirit into Adam's body. Now the question is, does it mean that the human soul is Divine and a part of God? Some *Ṣūfis* might have thought in that way, otherwise, the interpretation adopted by the orthodox scholars and other scholastics is this that God breathed into the body a soul which is one of His creatures. As the soul is much sublimer than ordinary matter, God, out of regard for it, has called this soul His soul just as the *Ka'bah* is, out of sanctity and honour, termed as God's House.¹⁹

11. *Pre-existence of the soul.*

There are two schools of thought about this question. According to one school, souls were created before the creation of their bodies, and they are kept in His treasure-house. When their times come, God transfers them from

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

¹⁹ *Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's Kitābu 'r-Rūḥ* (Hyderabad), p. 246.

His treasure-house into human embryo. Others hold that the moment a body is created a soul is created and breathed into it. Both the schools quote the Scripture in their support.

13. *Are all souls of the same nature?*

According to some thinkers, all of them are of the same nature, as all men are; but they differ in their qualities. They form one species. Others hold that the soul is a genus having many species under it, and each species having different individuals. It is held generally that no two souls are alike just as no two men resemble together.²⁰

14. *Islamic eschatology.*

As nobody can deny the existence of the mind or soul, the *Qur'ān* has not cared to prove its existence or to explain its nature. What concerns the Book most is the life after death, because it is the foundation of all religions. It is the eschatological discussion of the soul and not its metaphysical or psychological treatment that is an important topic of the *Qur'ān*. Now I turn to this topic. This is a very vast subject. I shall confine myself to some important questions.

I. *Does the soul die?*

Some hold that it does not die, while others hold the opposite view. But it is only a wordy difference. If the death of the soul means its departure from the body, then certainly it dies. If the death of the soul is to be taken in the sense of its total annihilation, then in that sense it does not die.²¹

²⁰ *Kashshāf iṣṭilāhāt* under 'nafs'.

²¹ Ibnu 'l-Qayyim's *Kilābu r-Rūh*, p. 51.

II. *How are souls distinguished from one another after death?*

When the soul is an essence standing by itself, this question does not arise. It concerns those who believe that souls cannot exist without bodies.²²

III. *Does the soul return to the grave?*

The soul which is taken away by the angel is brought back to be examined by the two angels called Munkir and Nakir.²³

IV. *Do the departed souls hear the voice of a living person?*

There is a little controversy about this point among theologians. Some say that they hear the living and some hold that they do not.²⁴

V. *Is an intercourse possible between the departed souls and the living?*

Souls after death can visit their living relatives. Our books on this topic are full of the stories of the departed souls meeting the living in dreams, which were proved to be true by the subsequent happenings. One of them may be related here.²⁵ This is a tradition narrated by the authentic chain of narrators. A certain companion of the Prophet was killed in action. After a few days another companion of the Prophet saw the departed soul in dream and heard it say: "Convey this message of mine to the Caliph that at the time of my death such and such person took away my armour. The Caliph should get it back from him and after selling it he should pay off my

²² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

²³ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

debt that I owe to another man." The dream was reported to the Caliph who ordered both of the men to be present. They both testified to the truth of the report.

VI. *Where does the departed soul sojourn?*

During the period intervening between their time of death and the Day of Judgment, they sojourn in different regions ranging from the grave up to the very high point in heavens. The abode of the good soul has been called 'Illāyūn and that of evil souls is termed as *Sijjīn*,²⁶ the former being the highest and the latter, the lowest. After the Day of Judgment, they go to Paradise or Hell as they deserve.

VII. *Are the departed souls benefited by the prayers, almsgiving and charity done by living men?*

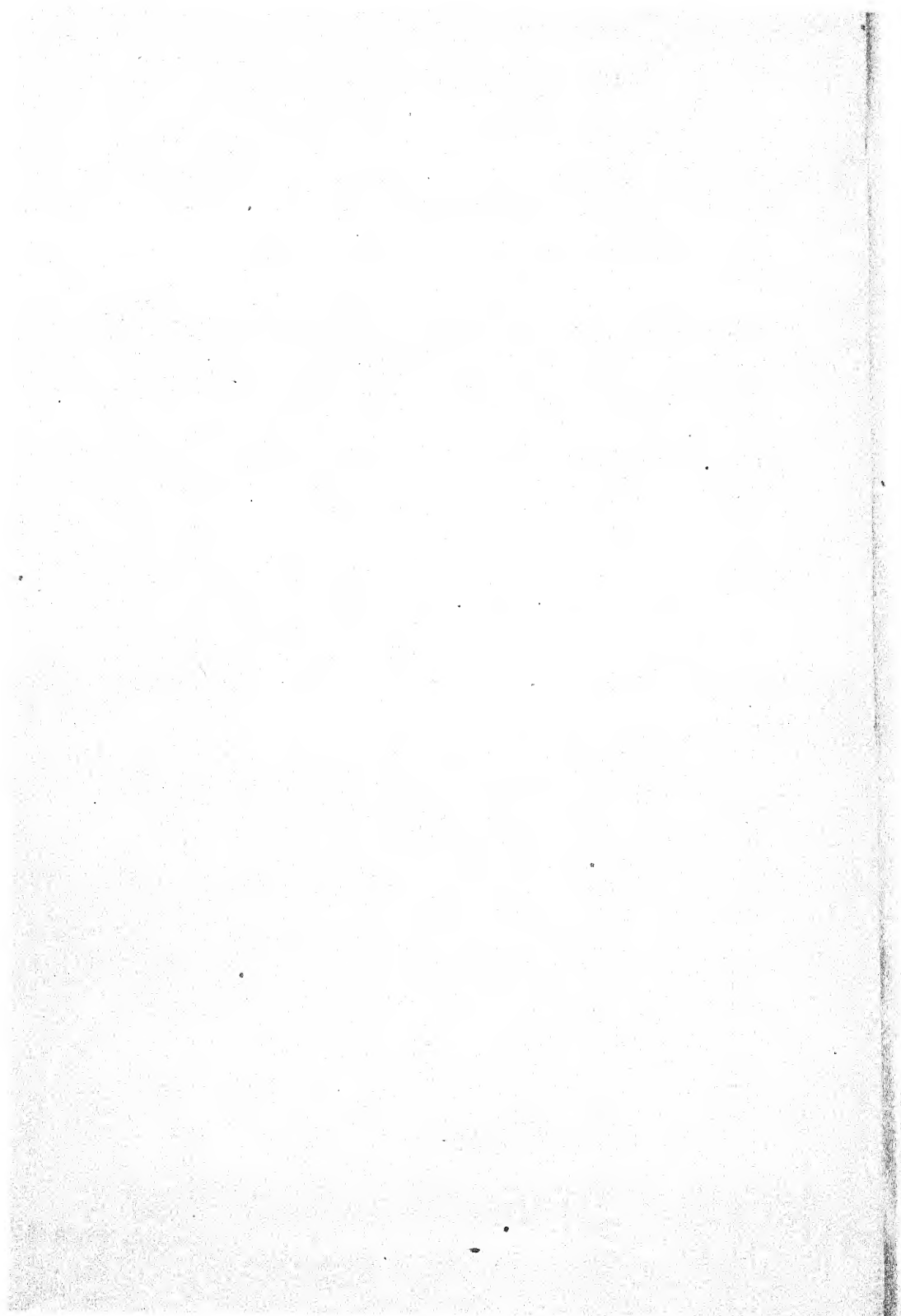
There is a controversy on this point amongst Muslim scholars. But the orthodox reply is in the affirmative.²⁷

VIII. *Transmigration of the soul.*

Islām rejects this theory very clearly, definitely and strongly. The Muslim books dealing with this topic are full of arguments. But as it is a great controversy between Hinduism and Islām, I should not like to discuss it here.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 188 and the following pages.



SOME DATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE
TANTRASARA OF KṚṢṆĀNANDA
VĀGĪṢA AND THEIR BEARING
ON THE LIMITS FOR HIS
DATE (A.D. 1500 to 1600)

By P. K. GODE

According to Farquhar¹ the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīṣa dates from A.D. 1812. In the *Catalogue*² of MSS in the Vāṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat we find two MSS of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Bhaṭṭācārya which are dated A.D. 1693 and 1770. If the work called the *Tantrasāra* mentioned by Farquhar is identical with its name-sake represented by two dated MSS referred to above we must reject the date A.D. 1812 for it given by Farquhar. In fact this contradiction of dates for the *Tantrasāra* led me to the search of a MS of the work which is dated 54 years earlier than the MS of A. D. 1693 mentioned above. This MS³ is identical with MS No.

¹ Vide p. 355 of *Outlines of Religious Literature of India*, Oxford, 1920. On p. 389 also this author and his work are assigned to A.D. 1812.

² Published 1935 (Calcutta)—Page 57.

MS No. 585 —तन्त्रसार by कृष्णानन्दभट्टाचार्य Copied in Śaka 1615 (=A.D. 1693); in Bengali-characters.

MS No. 1623—Do—copied in Śaka 1692 (=A.D. 1770).

³ MS No. 388 of 1882-83 (तन्त्रसार) begins as follows:—

“श्रीगणेशाय नमः

नत्वा कृष्णपदद्वंद्वं ब्रह्मादिसुरवंदितं ।
गुरुं च ज्ञानदातारं कृष्णानंदेन धीमता ॥
तत्तदग्रन्थगताद्वाक्यान्नामार्थं प्रतिपद्यत ।
सौकर्यार्थं च संक्षेपात्तन्त्रसारः प्रतन्यते ॥

Colophon on the last folio 337b reads:—

“...श्रीकृष्णानंदवागीशभट्टाचार्याय संग्रहः.....संवत् १६८५ समय आषाढ वदि पदि वा लिखित पक्षधरमिश्रेण ॥”

388 of 1882-83 in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona. It is very old but well preserved. It is dated *Samvat 1695* (=A.D. 1639) and may, therefore, be looked upon as one of the oldest dated MSS of the *Tantrasāra*. I note below some of the references to previous authors and works as found in this MS of A.D. 1639 :—

- (1) सारसंग्रह—fol. 1,
- (2) नारदवचनात्—fol. 1, 3, 10,
- (3) योगिनीतन्त्रे—fol. 1, 2, 9, 31,
- (4) गणेशविमर्शिन्यां—fol. 2, 31,
- (5) रुद्रयामले—fol. 2, (रुद्रजामले) 6,
- (6) मत्स्यसूक्ते—fol. 2, 48,
- (7) वैशंपायनसंहितायां—fol. 2,
- (8) भैरवतन्त्रे—fol. 2, 124,
- (9) वाराहीतन्त्रे—fol. 3, 9, 18,
- (10) साम्प्रदायिकाः—fol. 3,
- (11) तन्त्ररत्ने—fol. 4,⁴
- (12) श्रीक्रमे—fol. 4, 10, 132,
- (13) रामार्चनचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 5, 8,
- (14) निबन्धे—fol. 6, 24, 29, 32, 49, 55, 66, 87, 96, 109, 114, 121,
- (15) विश्वसारे—fol. 6, 22, 59, 162,
- (16) वाराहीजामलादौ—fol. 7,
- (17) आगमकल्पद्रुमे—fol. 7, 81,
- (18) सनत्कुमारवचनात्—fol. 8, 11, 45,
- (19) गौतमीयात्—fol. 9, 11, 12, 16, 25,
- (20) सनत्कुमारसंहितायाः—fol. 9,
- (21) हंसपरमेश्वरे—fol. 10,
- (22) मुंडमालायां—fol. 10, 17, 122,
- (23) भगवद्गोपनीयात् (B. Gīta)—fol. 11,
- (24) योगिनीहृदये—fol. 13, 15, 17, 18, 190,
- (25) अगस्त्यसंहितायां—fol. 13, 17, 80,

⁴[Aufrecht CCI, 222—तन्त्ररत्न by कृष्णविद्यावागीश (of नवद्वीप) IO, 364, L 240, Bik 617].

- (26) कुलार्णवे—fol. 14, 16, 253,
 (27) तन्त्रराजे—fol. 17,
 (28) स्वतंत्रतंत्रे—fol. 20, 35, 156,
 (29) नीलतंत्रे—fol. 20, 177, 186,
 (30) सारदायां—fol. 25, शारदायां (fol. 30), 44,
 (31) नवरत्नेश्वरे—fol. 28, 43, 153,
 (32) राघवभट्टः—fol. 29, “इतिभट्टः” (fol. 42, 46, 244) “भट्ट-
 धृतं” (fol. 45),
 (33) वासिष्ठे—fol. 30, 32, 295
 Colophon on folio 34—“इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीकृष्णानंद-
 विद्यावागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचिते तंत्रसारे प्रथमः परिच्छेदः”
 (34) मालिनीतंत्रे—fol. 35,
 (35) महासंमोहनतंत्रे—fol. 36,
 (36) ज्ञानार्णवे—fol. 36, 41, 44, 113, 117, 298,
 (37) कुलचूडामणौ—fol. 36, 61, 263,
 (38) तारादौ—fol. 39,
 (39) विशुद्धेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 40,
 (40) ब्रह्मयामले—fol. 45, ब्रह्मजामले (130)
 (41) विद्यानंदनिबन्धे—fol. 48,⁵
 (42) स्वच्छंदसंग्रहे—fol. 49,
 (43) दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहितायाम्—fol. 64, 113, 126,
 (44) पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिकायाम्—fol. 81,
 (45) बृहद्गौतमीये—fol. 85,
 (46) सनत्कुमारकल्पे—fol. 89,
 (47) ब्रह्मसंहितायाम्—fol. 93,
 (48) प्रपंचसारे—fol. 112;
 (49) त्रिपुरासारे—fol. 122,
 (50) कुब्जिकातन्त्रे—fol. 129, 261,
 (51) महारुद्रयामले—fol. 130,
 (52) हंसमाहेश्वरे तंत्रे—fol. 131,
 (53) स्वच्छंदभैरवे—fol. 136,
 (54) कालीतंत्रे—fol. 169, 171, 191,

⁵ Aufrecht—*CCI*, 574—mentions one विद्यानंदनाथ as the author of two tantra works लघुपद्धति and सीमाग्यरत्नाकर (Burnell 203—MS. A. D. 1509).

- (55) वीरतंत्रे—fol. 169, 180,
- (56) नीलसारस्वततंत्रे—fol. 172,
- (57) सिद्धसारस्वते—fol. 184,
- (58) महाशङ्खे—fol. 185,
- (59) मायतंत्रे—fol. 185,
- (60) मातृकार्णवे—fol. 186,
- (61) भावचूडामणौ—fol. 191,
- (62) चामुंडातंत्रे—fol. 205,
- (63) कुक्कुटेश्वरतंत्रे—fol. 207,
- (64) मन्त्रदेवप्रकाशिकायाम्—fol. 220,
- (65) गारुडतंत्रे देवीश्वरसंवादे—fol. 223,
- (66) बटुकस्तोत्र—fol. 226,
- (67) मन्त्रतंत्रप्रकाशे—fol. 239,
- (68) कालिकापुराणे—fol. 241,
- (69) “इति गुरवः”—fol. 254,
- (70) भागवत षष्ठस्कंध—fol. 270,
- (71) पद्मपुराणे—fol. 272
- (72) वसिष्ठसंहिता—fol. 304,
- (73) कुमारीतंत्रे—fol. 324,
- (74) उत्तरतंत्रे—fol. 324,

On folio 29 we find an author of the name राघवभट्ट⁶ who is, in my opinion, identical with राघवभट्ट the author of a Commentary on the *Śāradātīlaka*. This Commentary was composed in A.D. 1494. Subsequent references to राघवभट्ट (*vide* reference No. 32 in the above list) are made briefly as “इतिभट्टः”. If this identification is accepted we may fix the date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya between A. D. 1494 and A.D. 1639, the date of the B. O. R. I. MS of the *Tantrasāra* analysed above.

According to Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya⁷ Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of the *Tantrasāra*, “*can be confidently*

⁶ This reference is found in the Oxford MS of the *Tantrasāra* (*vide* p. 95b of Aufrecht's *Cata. of Oxford MSS*, 1864).

⁷ *Vide* p. 80 of *Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute*, Vol. X, Part II (July, 1942)—“Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of

placed in about A.D. 1607" because his *guru* Pūrṇānanda composed his *Tattvacintāmaṇi* in Śaka 1499 = A.D. 1577. Dr. Bhattacharya's date for Kṛṣṇānanda, viz., "about A.D. 1607" is in harmony with the limits for the date of this author fixed by me (*Between A.D. 1494 and 1639*). It, however, conflicts with the date of a MS of the *Tantrasāra* recorded by Poleman.⁸ This MS is dated *Samvat* 1586 = A.D. 1530. Presuming that this date is correct we have to fix the limits for the date of the *Tantrasāra* between A.D. 1494 and 1530. These limits harmonize with the dates of वासुदेवसार्वभौम as given in the *Madhyayugīna Caritakośa*,⁹ where we are told that our Kṛṣṇānanda was the pupil of वासुदेवसार्वभौम (C.A.D. 1550—1525). Dr. S. K. De¹⁰ in his recent book on *Vaiṣṇava Faith and Move-*

Tantrasāra was a disciple of Pūrṇānanda, who in his turn was a disciple of Brahmānanda. Pūrṇānanda wrote a work, *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, which was composed in the Śaka year 1499, which corresponds to A.D. 1577. Kṛṣṇānanda, who is one generation later, can be confidently placed in about A.D. 1607."—Dr. Bhattacharya notes the following works mentioned in the *Tantrasāra*:—

आगमसार, भैरवीतन्त्र, एकवीराकल्प, गोविन्दवृन्दावन, हंसमाहेश्वर, अगस्त्यसंहिता, देव्यागम, गणेशविमर्शिणी, हंसपारमेश्वर, ज्ञानार्णव, क्रियासार, कुलामृत, कुलार्णव, कालिकापुराण, मत्स्यसूक्त, सुखमालातन्त्र, नवरत्नेश्वर, पिङ्गला, पुरश्चरणचन्द्रिका, रामार्चनचन्द्रिका, श्रीक्रम, शारदातिलक, सिद्धयामल, समयतन्त्र, ताराप्रदीप, तत्त्वसार, वैशम्पायनसंहिता, विश्वसार, विशुद्धेश्वर, कुलचूडामणि, कुलावली, कुलोत्तर, कुब्जिकातन्त्र, मालिनीविजय, निगमकल्पद्रुम, नीलतन्त्र, प्रपञ्चसार, रुद्रयामल, रत्नावली, सारसंग्रह, शक्तियामल, सिद्धसारस्वत, सम्मोहनतन्त्र, तन्त्रार्णव, तन्त्रराज, वाराहीतन्त्र, विष्णुयामल, यामल ।

⁸ Vide p. 218 of a *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada*, Newhaven, 1938—Poleman's entry reads as follows:—

"Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa.

4372. *Tantrasāra*. Bengali Script. 390 ff. 18×3.75. 8 lines. *Samv* 1586. Auf. I. 222. UP 765."

⁹ By Pt. Chitrav Shastri, Poona, 1937—Page 730.

Farquhar (p. 289 of *Outlines*, etc.) puts वासुदेवसार्वभौम to the period "from 1470—1480" when he taught at Nuddea.

¹⁰ Published, Calcutta, 1942, page 21. Navadvīpa (modern Nadiyā) was a famous seat of mediæval Sanskrit learning. "It was also the stronghold of orthodox Brahmanism, as well as of Neo-Tāntricism and produced a stringen social dictator like Raghunandana as well as a champion of obscure Tāntric rites like Kṛṣṇānanda"—(*ibid.*, p. 23).

ment in Bengal states: "Kṛṣṇananda Āgamavāgiśa, the author of *Tantrasāra* and the great exponent of Tāntric doctrines in Bengal, is said to have been (like Raghunandana) a contemporary of Caitanya; and there can be hardly any doubt as to the widespread character of Tāntric teaching in Bengal." Later in the same book Dr. De refers to the tradition according to which Vāsu-deva Sārvabhauma had 4 pupils:—(1) रघुनाथ शिरोमणि, (2) रघुनन्दन, (3) कृष्णानन्द आगमवागीश and (4) चैतन्य. Dr. De thinks that Caitanya's pupilship, even though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact and that "रघुनन्दन and कृष्णानन्द belonged to much later times."¹¹

According to Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri¹² Raghunandana "was a contemporary of Śrī-Caitanya and flourished towards the close of the fifteenth century. The period of his literary activity probably lay between 1520 and 1570." According to Dr. S. K. De Caitanya was born in February, 1486 and passed away in June-July, 1533.¹³ Prof. Sri Ram Sharma¹⁴ includes Raghunandana¹⁵ in his list of Sanskrit writers of the reign of Emperor Akbar (A.D. 1542—1605).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65, footnote 2.

¹² *Vide* p. 132 of Appendix to the Edition of *Gaṅgāvākya-vaṭī*, Calcutta, 1940.—There is some contradiction in the extract, quoted above. "Close of the fifteenth century" would necessarily be before A.D. 1500 while Dr. Chaudhuri gives "between 1520 and 1570" as the period of Raghunandana's literary activity. This period falls in the 16th century.

¹³ *Vide*, pp. 51 and 76 of *Vaiṣṇava Faith*, etc.

¹⁴ *Vide* p. 156 of *Bibliography of Mughal India*, K. P. House, Bombay.

¹⁵ According to M. M. Prof. P. V. Kane Raghunandana flourished between A.D. 1490 and 1570 and his literary activity lies between 1520 and 1570.

The chronological data recorded in the foregoing discussion may now be tabulated as follows :—

A. D.	Remarks K = Kṛṣṇānanda, author of <i>Tantrasāra</i>
1486	Birth of Caitanya, who is supposed to be a contemporary of K and Raghunandana.
C. 1450 – 1525	Dates of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, supposed to be the <i>guru</i> of K .
1494	Date of शारदातिलकटीका by Rāghavabhaṭṭa who is mentioned by K in his <i>Tantrasāra</i> as pointed out by me.
1530	Date of MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K in U. S. A. according to Poleman.
1533	Death of Caitanya.
1520-1570	Literary activities of Raghunandana according to M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. K is supposed to have been a contemporary of Raghunandana.
1542-1605	Dates of Emperor Akbar during whose reign Raghunandana flourished according to Sri Ram Sharma.
1577	Date of <i>Tattvacintāmaṇi</i> by पूर्णानन्द, the <i>guru</i> of K according to Dr. B. Bhattacharya.
C. 1607	Date of K according to Dr. Bhattacharya.
1639	Date of B. O. R. I. MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> analysed in this paper.
1693	Date of a MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K with V. S. Pariṣat, Calcutta.
C. 1725	Date of Gauri-Kānta who quotes <i>Tantrasāra</i> in his commentary on <i>Anandalahari</i> (Oxford, 108b) MS of A. D. 1770.
1770	Date of another MS of <i>Tantrasāra</i> with V. S. Pariṣat.
1812	Date of <i>Tantrasāra</i> of K according to Farquhar.

The chronology tabulated above will, it is hoped, help to clarify the problem of the exact date of the *Tantrasāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vāgīśa, who can be definitely put *between, say, A.D. 1500 and 1600* according to my data recorded in this paper. If the date A.D. 1530 of the MS of the *Tantrasāra* as recorded by Dr. Poleman is correct it will clinch down the date of the *Tantrasāra* between A.D. 1494 and 1530. I request Dr. Bhattacharya to examine the data recorded by me in this paper and see how far it could be reconciled with his date for Kṛṣṇānanda, *viz.*, "about A.D. 1607."

IS CANDRA OF THE MEHRAULI PILLAR INSCRIPTION IDENTICAL WITH KANIŠKA?

By DĀSHARATHA SHARMA.

Writing in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has, explaining away all the difficulties caused by question of geography, religion and palæography, identified Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription with Kaniška, the well-known Kuśana Emperor, solely on the basis of the mention of one Candra-Kaniška in an old Ms. discovered in Central Asia. But the fact that Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription is described as having crossed the seven feeders of the Indus¹ and defeated the very people of whom, according to the Central Asian Ms.,² Candra-Kaniška was the king and among whom he is said to have risen is, in my opinion, a reason strong enough to discredit the identity of the two sovereigns proposed by the learned Doctor. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription started his military operation from some base inside India, and Kaniška is, by the evidence of this Ms., which speaks of him as Candra-Kaniška, the king of Bāhlaka, shown to be an outsider, even though he might not be proved to have been a relative of Kadphises II.³

¹ तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता बाह्विः (Stanza 1).

² The two relevant extracts from the Central Asian MS. given by Dr. Majumdar are:—

(a) “in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, there was a king Chandra-Kanishka by name.”

(b) “at that time in the kingdom of Bāhlaka, in Tokhāristān, there arose in the family of Imperial rulers, a brave, meritorious, intelligent king of Jambudvīpa, by name Chandra-Kanishka.”

³ Some relationship is, however, suggested by the second extract from the MS. given above.

Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription defeated the Bāhlikas. Candra-Kaṇiṣka, on the other hand, was their ruler from the very beginning; according to the Khotanese Ms. he *arose* among them, though he was at the same time the sovereign of other parts of Asia. Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar was a *Vaiṣṇava*. Kaṇiṣka was perhaps a *Bauddha*. There is at least no inscriptional, numismatic or traditional evidence to prove that he was a supporter of any form of *Vaiṣṇavism*. So the supposed identity of Candra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription and Kaṇiṣka may be regarded as disproved from almost every point of view.

I believe the Mehrauli Pillar inscription to refer to some Gupta Emperor, most probably Candragupta II. My reasons for this view have been already stated elsewhere.⁴ What I wish to adduce as new evidence for my viewpoint are the following coin-legends of the Gupta rulers:—

1. Coin of Samudragupta (Allan, *Catalogue*, p. 21ff).

*Rajādhirajaḥ prthivīmaṣṭvā
divaṁ jayatyaprativāryavīryaḥ.*

2. Coin of Kācha (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 15ff).

*Kācho gāvamaṣṭvā
divaṁ karmabhiruttamair Jayati.*

3. Coin of Candragupta II (Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 35ff).

*Kṣitimavajitya sucharitair—
divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.*

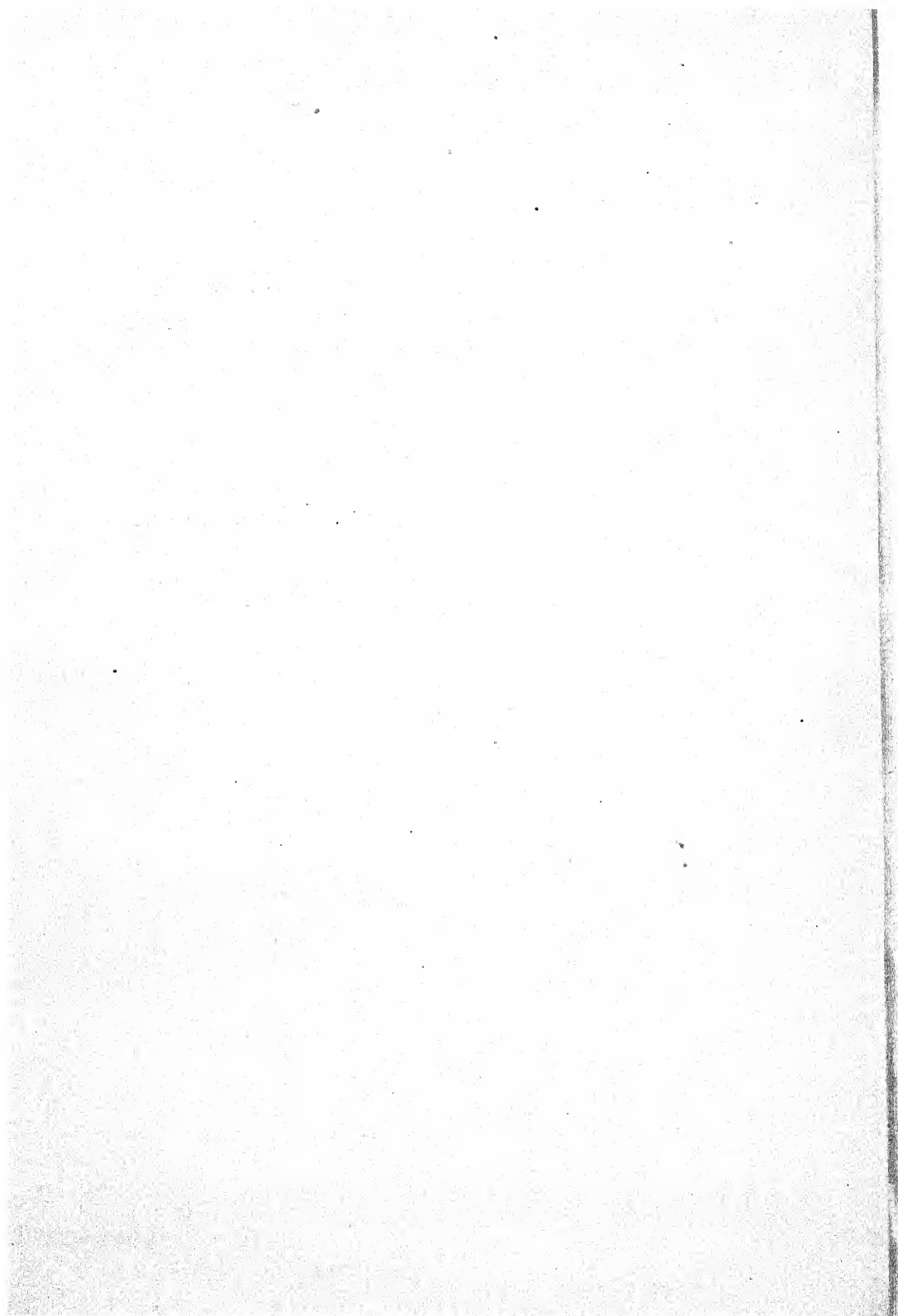
Let one read these and then compare them with the following lines of the 2nd stanza of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription,

⁴ *Journal of Indian History*, XVI, pp. 13 ff.

*Khinnasyeva visrjya gām narapaterggāmāsrita-
syetarām*

*mūrtiyā karmmajitāvanīm gataavataḥ kīrtiyā
sthitasya kṣitau,*

and see whether they do not reproduce just the ideas contained in the coin-legends. Here too the ruler is shown conquering both the worlds, the earth and heaven, and the means of conquest are the same. If no other evidence were forthcoming these coin-legends are, I believe, enough to prove that the Mehrauli Pillar too is a Gupta record. The records of the Kuśanas are not unknown. But does any of them reproduce anywhere the idea contained in this inscription? If they do not, what reasons can we have to assign to them, or for the matter of that, to any non-Gupta ruler?



INSTANCES OF THE AUXILIARY VERB IN THE SUTTANIPĀTA

By BABU RAM SAKSENA

The *Sutta-nipāta* (*Sn*) is quite an old text of the Pāli canon, as we find its commentary, the *Niddesa*, written in the 3rd cen. B.C., also included in the canon. Although the so-called auxiliary verb, such as *acch-* < *ā-kṣi*, *vatt-* < *vr̥t-* and *as-* occur independently in many places in the texts of Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), instances of their use as auxiliary are rare, particularly in the first sub-period (cir. B.C. 500 to A.D. 1) of MIA. In the circumstances, the following cases of the verb *as-* used as auxiliary in the *Sn*. will prove interesting:—

(a) *nāssu gacchanti* (did not resort to) vs. 291.

(b) *nāssu gāvo haniṃsu* (did not kill cows) vs. 295,
vs. 297.

(c) *nāssu hiṃsanti* (do not injure) vs. 309.

In all these instances *nāssu* is clearly *na + assu*. What is this *assu*? Fausboll takes it to be a correspondent of Skt. *sma* (p. 33 *Sn. Index*). But I am afraid that his interpretation is not correct. The development of *sma*, as phonetically expected, should be *amha* or *asma*; compare the form of the Pre. I pl. *amha*, *asma* (Skt. *smaḥ*). Moreover the particle *sma* in Skt. comes only after the forms of the Pre. tense while amongst the instances cited above we find one (b) after a form of the Past tense. Fausboll thinks that *assu* may also correspond with Skt. *su* or *svīd*, and in *Sn*. vs. 231 he breaks *tayassu* as *tay' assu* in spite of the clear interpretation given by the commentary (*Paramatthajotikā*):

*tayas su dhammā jahitā bhavanti ettha su iti pāda-
pūraṇamattē nipāto.*

The P. T. S. edition has rightly followed the lead of the commentary and accepted the reading *tayas su*. Similarly in *Sn.* vs. 1032 also, Fausboll commits the mistake of breaking *kenassu* as *ken' assu*, taking *assu* as correspondent of Skt. *svid*, a most unsatisfactory position since in the very next line of the verse *svid* occurs as *su* which is phonetically correct. Therefore, *kenassu* should best be broken as *kena su*; the lengthening of *-s* to *-ss* is a common feature in Pāli texts in such positions.

In the instances under discussion, there is no possibility of *assu* being taken as *su* since *nāssu* must be broken as *na assu*. The commentary also does not appear to favour the interpretation of *assu* as *sma* since it says:—

nāssu gacchantīti neva gacchantīti (p. 317)

nāssu gāvo haniṃsu te na te gāviyō māresuṃ (p. 319)

If the commentary had favoured the interpretation of *assu* as *sma* it would have interpreted the Present (*nāssu gacchanti*) not as Present (*neva gacchanti*) but as Past (*agamimsu*).

This *assu* may correspond with either (1) *assu* (Imperative 3rd pers. pl. corresponding to Skt. Potential form *syuh*) or (2) *āsuṃ* (Past 3rd pers. pl.). The latter is more likely. The form *āsuṃ* may well have an emphatic form in *assu*. This has been used as auxiliary. It is curious that we find it with the conjugated forms *gacchanti*, *himsanti* and *haniṃsu*, while in New Indo-Aryan, the auxiliary comes with the Participle (Past or Present). The explanation might be that in early stages of a new development in a language, the position is shaky. It is possible that the use of the auxiliary began with the conjugated forms as well as the participles and later it survived only with the latter. We may compare the promiscuous use of the Genitive and the Dative cases in early MIA and the survival of the Genitive only, later. In the

cases under discussion, it may be surmised that the speaker felt the weakness of the position of the Principal verb and wanted to give it some support. Possibly various formations were requisitioned into use and one or two of them became stereotyped and survived.

The interpretation of *assu* as a form of *āsu*, *āsum* is supported by two other occurrences in Pāli literature. In the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (No. 528) in vs. 159 (p. 241 of *Jātaka*, Vol. V) there is a passage

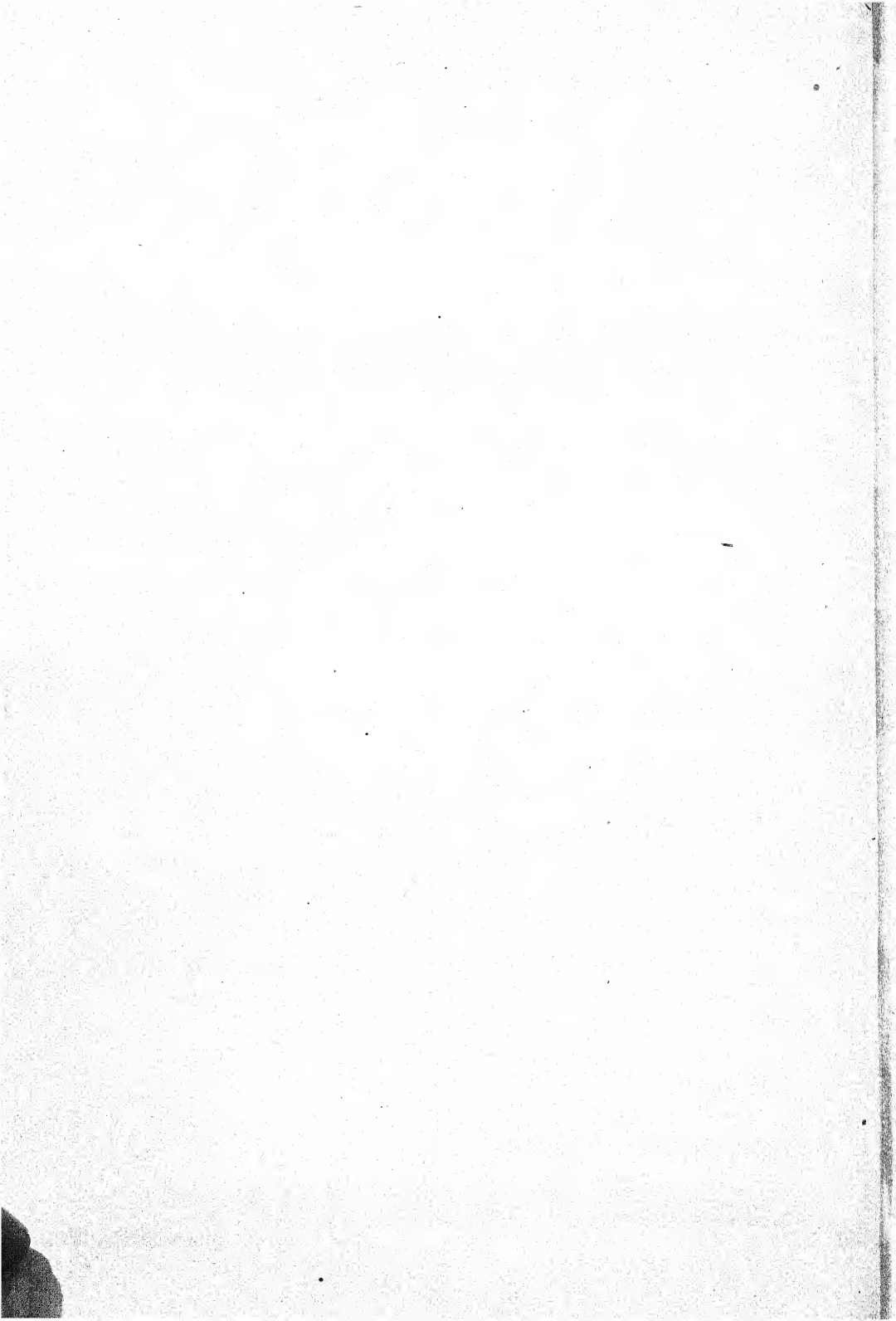
urabbharūpena vak'āsu pubbe

where for *vak'āsu* there is a variant reading *vakāssu*. The commentary takes *āsu* (*assu*) merely as expletive (*āsu ti nipātamattaṃ*) but interprets it as *ahosi*. This *āsu* is clearly the pl. form of *ahosi*, and we find many instances in Pāli where a sg. noun has been used with a plural verb. Similarly in the *Latā-vimāna* (*Vimāna-vatthu* 32 vs. 4) there is a passage

visiṭṭhakallāṇitarassu rupato

where also the commentary (p. 135) takes *assu* merely as expletive (*assūti nipātamattaṃ*) and says that there is a variant reading, viz., *tarāsi*. The P. T. S. and the Devanāgarī edition of the text, however, read *tarassa*, relying on some other manuscripts of Ceylon. In this instance also, to my mind, there is a clear case of a pl. form of the verb being used with a singular noun. In both these cases, of course, *assu* has been used as the Principal verb. This confirms the position that I have taken about the use of *assu* as auxiliary in the instances of the *Sn.* cited above.

It is possible that other instances of the use of the auxiliary verb lie hidden in the ancient MIA texts. If they come to the notice of scholars, the position is sure to become clearer.



ṢAT BHŪMIKĀ BY DARĀ SHIKOH

By TARA CHAND.

The manuscript contains 15 folios but the first folio is wanting. The leaves are 10" by 6½" in size and each page contains 19 lines. The writing is clear and legible, section or Chapter headings are in red ink.

At the end the following statement occurs:

تمام شد نسخهٔ ست بهومیکا تصنیف شاهزاده کیوان جہاں
شاهزادہ دارا شکوہ^۲

The name of the copyist and date of writing are not given. Regarding the authorship of the manuscript there is no proof except the statement given above, that Dara Shikoh composed this piece.

Biographers of Dārā Shikoh do not mention *Ṣat Bhūmikā* among his works, and the name does not occur in any catalogue of manuscripts. Dara usually styles himself فقیرِ بے اندوہ محمد دارا شکوہ (Faqīr-i-be andoh Muhammad Dārā Shikoh), but in this manuscript he is described as Shāhzāda Kaiwān Jahān (Prince of the world of Saturn), which is an unusual epithet.

The manuscript is divided into a series of six *Bhūmikā* (stages). The term *Bhūmikā* indicates a station on the mystic path and in the Yoga philosophy *Bhūmi* (*Bhūmikā*) means a plane of consciousness. It is in this sense that the term is used and its employment explains the subject-matter of the work, namely, that it is a treatise on Yoga.

¹ A manuscript from the library of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute.

² Tamam Shud Nuskha-i-*Sat Bhūmikā* tasnīf-i-Shāhzāda Kaiwān Jahān Shāhzāda Dārā Shikoh.

The first series of six *Bhūmikās* is incomplete as the first leaf of the manuscript is missing. The second series has the following captions:—

- (1) Good intentions (*Śubha icchā*), that is, desire for liberation.
- (2) Reflection (*Vicaraṇa*), *i.e.*, belief in the existence (*Baṇā*) of God and the transience (*Fanā*) of the world, which produces detachment (*Vairāgya*).
- (3) Meditation (*Manana*), *i.e.*, weakening of attachment for the satisfaction of senses and creation of love for the vision of the supreme spirit (*Paramātmā*).
- (4) Dream state (*Swapana pada*), *i.e.*, enquiry into the vision of the supreme spirit who comprehends all objects.
- (5) Detachment (*Asakti*), *i.e.*, breaking relations with the body which is made of elements.
- (6) Attachment (*Bhāva-padārtha*), *i.e.*, enquiry as to the means of preventing vicissitudes in the vision of the supreme spirit.
- (7) The fourth station (*Turīya*), *i.e.*, complete absorption in the vision of God.

A short account of these subjects will be of interest.

The first step on the path is that the seeker entertains the desire for release (*Mukti*) and aversion for the pleasures of sense. He then seeks a teacher and asks him how to cross the ocean of joy and sorrow and attain the shore of eternal bliss. The teacher tells him that the ship which will take him across is the name of God (*Paramātmā*). Although followers of different religions do not agree on this particular name, but there is one name

which is the same for all, namely, the Unuttered (*Ajapā*). The Quran indicates it when it says:

نفخت من بروحي
(*Nafakhtu Man Biruhi*)

The second step is to enquire from the teacher how to prevent the attractions of sense from drawing the heart away from God. The teacher will point out that this world is the realm of death (*Mritaloka*, *dārulfanā*) and it resembles a dream, for on waking no trace of it remains, and it is like wine which has the appearance of water but does not quench thirst. The heart of man is like the thirsty deer who in the hope of finding it runs after it and ultimately despairs of it. The poet says:

چيست دنیا از خدا غافل بودن نه قماش و فقره و فرزند و زن³

The pleasures of sense are like the deadly poison, and even an animal which possesses only one sense is destroyed by it. How much worse is then the condition of man who possesses five of them?

आल पतंग मृग मीन गज एक स्वाद जिहे दैन ।
जा में पाँचों बसैं सो करिहैं क्यों चैन ॥

The man who gives up these desires and engages in meditation of God, receives his reward from His Court.

The third step is for the seeker to enquire from his guide why in spite of the knowledge of the transitoriness of this world and meditation on *Paramātmā* the scent of sense impressions does not vanish and the desire for the pleasures of the world does not disappear. The teacher will tell him that in this condition it is necessary to seek the company of the pious and to serve them with devotion. He will thus acquire humility and harmlessness. When

³ What is the world? To be heedless of God; neither silk, nor silver, nor son, nor woman.

Chīst duniya az Khudā ghāfil budan
Ne qimāsh o nuqra o farzand o zan.

the seeker develops these virtues and ceases to hurt any living creature, his innerself is purified, and the love of God takes firm root in his heart.

At the fourth stage the seeker learns from the teacher that the reflection of God illumines the entire universe, but the physical eye is incapable of seeing Him. He is seen with the eye which sees reality, when one transcends the stages of form and shape. It is, therefore, necessary that the multiplicity of the universe should be removed and the mind should contemplate the reflection of God in all things, who is, however, apart from all of them. Thus should the seeker's heart be filled with love and friendship:

ब्रह्मन घर, चंडाल घर, दीप जोत उजियार ।
मोहन मने पतंग के, बसै जोत इकसार ॥

When this process illumines the heart, God throws open the windows of vision on him and the seeker is rewarded with the ineffable sight.

On attaining this stage the seeker still entertains some doubts. In order to remove them the teacher tells him that the true seeker is one who in the contemplation of God forgets his own self and retains no idea of the distinction between I and Thou:

मोहन लगन सनेह की जाके अंतर होय ।
सुध न रहे बस दुन्ह की कहाँ एक और दोय ॥

It is, therefore, necessary that the rust of self should be removed from the mirror of the heart, and the soul should become completely absorbed in God. On learning this the seeker understands that without expelling every vestige of thought it is not possible to attain liberation. As we forget the waking state in sleep and the waking and the sleeping states in the state of dreamless sleep, it is clear that although the self is not as ignorant as it appears, its forgetfulness of reality is due to the association of the body. The self should realize that it is not the agent of

any activity and that it is God whose light illumines every heart and every limb.

रोम रोम मैं रम रहा, अजय दया कत थाह (?) ।

हौं नाहिं हौं, माह हौं हौं माहिं हौं नाथ (ह?) ॥

At this stage the seeker says that although he receives the vision of God, but the vision is not continuous and the veil of self obstructs it now and again. It is then that the teacher points out that intellect is incapable of removing the veil and it is necessary to cultivate the passion of love. When the seeker's heart is filled with the love of God and disturbed with the pangs of separation, then God who is ever kind to His lovers and whose light is brighter than the light of thousands upon thousands of suns and moons, removes the veil from his face and throws the effulgence of His light upon him, so that he becomes absorbed in the vision, and then he exclaims:

تعال اللہ چہ دولت دارم امشب کہ آمد ناگہاں دالدارم امشب⁴

This condition is known as *Vikalpa-Samādhi*.

The last stage known as *Turīya* is one in which the absorption of the seeker is complete, no veils remain, and there is no vicissitude.

When by the grace of God the final realization is attained, then the seeker in his going and sitting, in his eating and drinking, in sleeping and walking remains absorbed in the vision of God, and does all these things as if he was living in a dream. Thus he becomes *Jivan-mukta* (liberated in life).

Whether the *Ṣaṭ Bhūmikā* is actually the work of Dārā or someone else, the fact remains that it breathes the broad and tolerant spirit that inspired Dārā in his

⁴ *T'aal allāh chi daulat dāram imshab,
Ki āmad nāgahān dildāram imshab.*

translation of the Upaniṣads and in the compilation of *Majma'ul Bahrain*. Whoever the author may be, he visualizes the goal of human endeavour to be absorption in the Supreme Soul and he realizes that the end can only be reached by following the mystic path of inner discipline and complete surrender to the will of God. He recognizes no differences of creeds and believes that Hinduism and Islam agree both as regards the Ultimate goal of life and the means of attaining it.

SOME DECISIVE GEOGRAPHICAL AND
ARCHÆOLOGICAL EVIDENCE TO PROVE
THAT THE DATE OF THE WRITING OF THE
GĪTĀ BELONGS TO THE PERIOD OF 3000 B.C.
AND CONSEQUENTLY THE DATE OF THE
KURU WAR, BY CONNECTING IT WITH THE
FLOOD IN THE BIBLE, AND ALSO WITH THE
VANISHED SARASWATĪ RIVER AT
KURUKṢETRA

By V. B. ATHAVALÉ.

[A summary of an essay on the date of the composition of the text of the *Gītā* read at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference at Benares, along with the epidiascopic projection of the archæological and geographical evidence to support the statement that the *Gītā* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.]

(A) A transliteration of *G* 15.8. 'a vital force is born with the body, lives with it and accompanies the person to the next world' is written in hieroglyph on an Egyptian statue of 2780 b.c. (B) In the excavations at Ur, near Basra, seals 5000 years old were found. The carving shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied to a sacrificial manger, thus revealing that they are from India. (C) The name of the town was 'ASURA', and the 16th ch. of the *Gītā* mentions 'people from the country Asura.' (D) Sauti, the author of the *Mahābhārata*, uses the word 'Yavana' to mean foreigners. This word is clearly a phonetic transposition by Indians of the word IONIA, an old name of Greece current in 800 b.c. As the *Gītā* does not use this word, it is clear that it must be older than the *Mahābhārata*. (E) In the early Babilonian tablets of 2500 b.c. is found an inscription in cuneiform script a description of an old flood. The inscription consists of 12

small sentences. Curiously enough the word *YAJÑA* (a sacrifice) appears twice in the small document. (F) In the *Gītā*, too, the word *Yajña* is used far in excess to that of the word *Dharma*. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, the word *Dharma* is very prominent and the word *Yajña* is very rarely used. (G) In the tablet mentioned above a reference is made to a deluge continuing for six days. (H) In the *Mahā.* also there is a reference to a deluge for six days, and the Yādavas migrated to the Prabhāsa. (I) The date of the Babilonian flood can be archæologically fixed, because a single deposit 8 feet thick of clean water-laid clay was found below Ur. (J) In the *Mahā.* भी० अ० ३ a vivid description of earthquakes is given. "Big rivers are flowing in the opposite direction." This is a very rare phenomenon associated only with earthquakes. (K) The flood at Ur and the disturbances at Hastināpur were simultaneous. For, both the places are in the same latitude and the mythological date of our deluge coincides with that given above. (L) When the war was going on, the Great-bear was in the star cluster *Maghā*. The period of rotation of the bear is 2800 years, *i.e.*, 105 years per *Nakṣatra*. At present the bear is in *Kṛttikā*. Counting backward we know that it must have been in *Maghā* either 2200 or 5000 years ago. (M) We have a quotation of an old astronomer Garga, who says that in his time the bear was in *Maghā*, and 2566 years had elapsed since the crowning of Yudhiṣṭhira, proving 5000 to be a correct answer.]

First let us take a survey of the attempts made by others to fix the date of the war. The war continued for 18 days. On this point there is no difference of opinion. The month in which the war took place can also be determined correctly because in the *Mahābhārata* there are many references regarding the position of the planets in relation with the star groups (नक्षत्र) in the sky. How many years before the Christian era this war took place is how-

ever a very debatable point. For instance, in the 'symposium on the date of the *Mahābhārata* war' at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares (2-1-44), there were three papers which tried to settle the year through the astronomical references. Mr. Karandikar arrived at 1931 b.c. through his method. Dr. Daftari gives 1162 b.c. as the result he arrived at. Prof. Sengupta maintained that 2566 b.c. must be the correct year. It is clear from the varied results obtained that they are due to different interpretations of the astronomical references. The author of this article was present when the discussion was going on in the symposium. The discussion reduced to the interpretations of the references. No criterion can ever be given to prove that one interpretation is correct while the others are wrong.

The question became still more complicated when the discussion shifted to the point as to what part of the references should be called interpolations or later additions. As the problem is a historic one, there can be no compromise; and it can never be argued that all the solutions are equally true, nor can the mean of the two extreme values be regarded as nearer to the truth. Until a geographical or archaeological evidence is brought forth to support a certain date it must be admitted that the problem has not been solved.

Now let us turn to the attempts to settle the date of the *Gītā* by correlating it with other literatures of well-defined periods. The easy flow of the Sanskrit in the *Gītā*, the archaic forms of words violating the rigid grammar rules, do point to the fact that the Sanskrit was in common speech, and not a language of the learned only. The religious Sanskrit literature is divided into two groups (a) *Śruti*, and (b) *Smṛti*. The first is older than the second. The *Gītā* belongs to the second group. In this group there is a period called a *Sūtra* period. Pāṇini and Patañjali are two well-known authors of this period. The

date of Pāṇini has been accepted by all scholars to be between 800—500 b.c. As Patañjali has commented on the *Sūtras* by Pāṇini, the date of Patañjali is also accepted to be 100-150 years later than Pāṇini.

Pāṇini, while discussing the grammar of the names of revered persons mentions the names of Vāsudeva and Arjuna. This shows how revered the names were at the time of Pāṇini. There is also a Sanskrit lithic record of 300 b.c. in praise of Saṅkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva, at Hathibada, near Nagari, in the Udeipur State. This shows that Vāsudeva was deified at that time. By comparing the text of the *Gītā* with the *Yoga-sūtra* by Patañjali it can be shown that though the word *Yoga* is common in both of them, yet the *Gītā* uses the word *Yoga* in a far wider sense than that by Patañjali. Out of the first 70 *Sūtras*, 12 can be seen to have even a parallel word-grouping.¹ This proves that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to Patañjali. On account of a single word '*Brahma-sūtra*' in the *Gītā* some scholars try to prove that the text of *Gītā* is later than the '*Brahma-sūtras*.' But as Buddhism has been directly referred to in the *Brahma-sūtras*, they are of the 250 b.c. period; and hence, the argument has no value in comparison with the documentary evidence given above.

¹ Patañjali:

1. 2 योगः चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधः
- 1.12 अभ्यासवैराग्याभ्यां तन्निरोधः
- 1.13 तत्र स्थितौ यतः अभ्यासः
- 1.14 दीर्घकालनैरंतर्यस्तकारासेवितः
- 1.16 तत्परं पुरुषस्वयातेः गुणवैतृष्यं
- 1.23 ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा
- 1.27 तस्य वाचकः प्रणवः
- 1.28 तज्जपः
- 2.1 तपःस्वाध्याय-प्रणिधानानि क्रिया
- 2.7-8 सुखानुशायी रागः, दुःखानुशायी द्वेषः
- इहामुत्र फलभोगविरागः

Gītā

- चित्तं निरुद्धं योगसेवया
- अभ्यासेन वैराग्येण च गृह्यते
- अभ्यासयोगेन मां इच्छातु
- अनन्यचेताः सततं यो मां स्मरति नित्यशः
- उत्तमः पुरुषः अन्यः परमात्मे
- ईश्वरः सर्व...तमेव शरणं
- ओं इत्येकाक्षरं ब्रह्म
- यश्नानां जपयज्ञः
- यज्ञदानतपक्रियाः
- इन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यव०,
- नैवेह नामुत्र विनाशः...इन्द्रियार्थेषु वैराग्यम्

Loka. Tilak has already discussed the reference मासानां मार्गशीर्षेऽहं and has concluded on astronomical grounds that the text of the *Gītā* must be prior to 1400 b.c.

Mr. Telang and others have already observed the similarity of ideas and in some cases even the congruence of sentences, in the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads like *Muṇḍaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, etc. This suggests that they belong to the same period.

Muṇḍaka 1.2.7 (अष्टादशोक्तं अवरं येषु कर्म) refers probably to some book with 18 chapters. The peculiar word grouping 'अवरं कर्म' in the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Gītā* strongly suggests that the two belong to the same period.

Upaniṣads are known to belong to the transition period between the *Śruti* and *Smṛti*. It is well known that the *Gītā* is called 'गीतासूत्रनिबन्धु'. *Satupatha-Bṛāhmaṇa* is regarded by all the scholars to belong to the end of the *Śruti* period. From the reference कृत्तिकाः प्राच्यै दिशौ न व्यवन्ते Mr. Vaidya has shown that the *Śa. Br.* belongs to the period of 3000 b.c.

These attempts to shift the period of the *Gītā* from 300-to-3000 b.c. would appear to be vague, inconclusive, and even ridiculous as none of the dates is supported by archæological evidence. The author of this article has however secured an archæological evidence to prove that the text of the *Gītā* belongs to the 3000 b.c. period as follows:

(a) pp. 420, and 441 of *Na. Geo. Mag.*, America, Oct. 1941, gives a photograph of a wooden statue from the Egyptian pyramid of the date 2780 b.c. Over the statue is the hieroglyph signifying that "a vital force was born with a person as a counterpart of the body, lived with it, and accompanied it into the next world." This has a remarkable congruence with the wording in the *Gītā* 15.8. 'शरीरं यत् अवाप्नोति; उक्तामन्तं स्थितं'. The idea appears to have been transported *verbatim* from India. We are going to

prove below that there was a land connection between India and Iraq through Persia and also a sea route between the port Dwārakā and Egypt and the cargo from India was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks at the period of 3000 b.c.

(b) From our tradition we know that the Kuru war had taken place at the junction of Dwāpara and Kali-yuga. It means that after the war violent disturbances had taken place. Vāsudeva was in Dwārakā, and a great sea wave attacked the port and the people were compelled to leave the place and they migrated to Prabhāsa. At Hastināpur, the capital of the king Yudhiṣṭhira, certain earth disturbances were actually felt. For in the *Mahā. भीष्म. अ० ३* we get a vivid description of the things that were occurring. "Big earth-quakes are rocking the mountains, peaks are crumbling to pieces, big rivers are flowing in the reverse directions, . . . " This shows clearly that the epicentre of the quake must have been in the part of the Himālayas near Hastināpur. The big Saraswatī river which was flowing south-west on account of a tilt in its gradient stopped flowing and at Thāneśwar the river is at present merely a series of muddy lakes and pools. [For the photographs of these lakes and the legends associated with them, page 25 of the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (12-12-43), is worth seeing.] According to our traditional almanac the accession of the king Yudhiṣṭhira is nearly the same as that of कलियुग which is 5044 this year.

If the description of the earth disturbances on a vast scale be true we may expect a simultaneous and similar effects in the same latitudes. For instance, the latitude of Dehli is 30 and that of Basra is the same. But Basra being near the sea due to the earth disturbance a big sea wave is sure to rise and produce a deluge in the plane tract, the effect being similar to that at Dwārakā.

In the *Na. Geo. Mag. Ame.* Jan. 1930, there is an

article with the heading "*Excavations at the site of the city of Abraham (Ur) reveal geographical evidence of the Biblical story of the flood.*" P. 97, "The oldest traditions tell that Ur was among the first cities that had come into existence not long after the great floods." P. 120, "An early Babilonian tablet written in wedge-shaped cuneiform script, gives the description of the flood as 'Six days and nights raged wind, deluge, and storm over the earth. When the seventh day arrived the storm ceased. Hedges and fields had become like marshes. I opened a window and light fell on my face. . . I offered sacrifice (*Yajña*). The gods gathered like flies over the sacrifice. " P. 109, "The earliest certain date for the accession of the first king of Ur that can be arrived at is 3100 b.c. with a probable error of 100 years." P. 118, "A single flood deposit 8 feet deep of water-laid clay was found, and it was due to the great Biblical flood. As it was found just below the grave of the first king the date of the flood must be 3100 b.c." P. 110, "The extensive use of gold, silver, and gem stones in the articles found in the graves 5000 years old, clearly prove that the people must have connection with Egypt and India, for Iraq has no mines from which these could be obtained." P. 123, miniature boats 5000 years old were also found.

From the archæological evidence cited above and the geographical argument that the earth disturbances are simultaneous it is clear that our traditional date of (?) coincided with the date of the Biblical flood obtained from archæological evidence. Now, we shall try to prove that it was the port of Dwārakā which was connected with Iraq and Egypt.

Gen. 10. in the *Bible* tells that only the family of Noah escaped out of the flood with the help of the Ark. Noah had a great-great-grandson called Ophir. Ophir is also an unidentified region famous in the *Old Testament*

for fine gold. Solomon's ships had started from Gaber and three years were occupied for the voyage to Ophir. The cargo brought was gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. We shall try to see if we can identify this unidentified region Ophir. The word 'ophir' is phonetically similar to अमोर in Sanskrit, and it means people who keep cow-herds. We know that Kṛṣṇa is associated with cow-herds. The cargo tallies with the things available in the *Abhīra* region around Dwārakā.

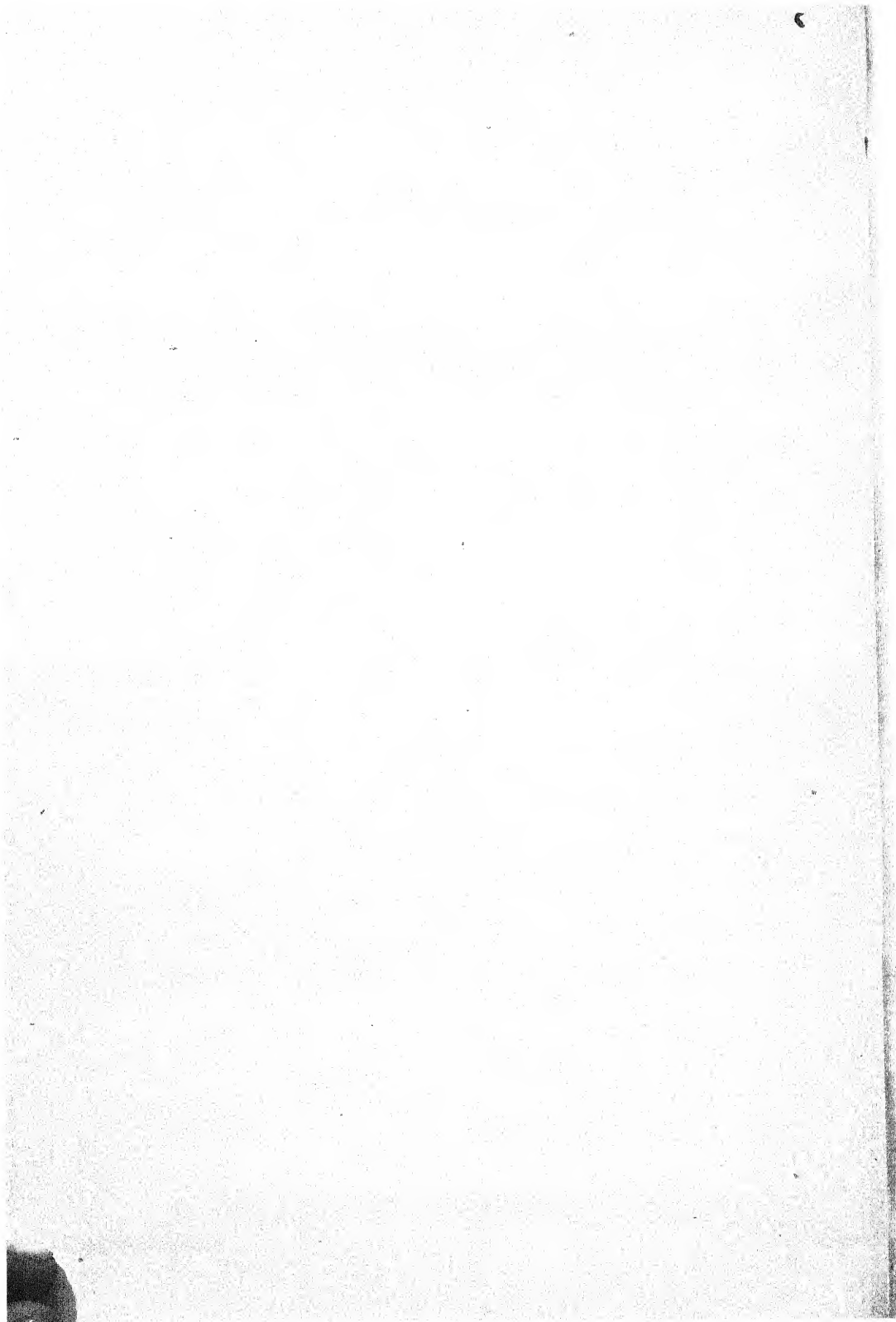
Another striking archæological proof to support the above identification can be cited from an illustrated article in *Geo. Mag. Lond.* Aug. 1943. It says, "30 seals carved in Indian style were found in the city of Ur, and they were 5000 years old" P.176. The photograph of the seals shows a tusked elephant and a bull tied in a manger, the tusk proves that the cargo of ivory came from the Indus delta ports and the bull proves as to how the word 'ophir' lingered long in the *Bible*.

Still another strong archæological proof can be cited to show that the text of the *Gītā* is 5000 years old. In ch. 16.7., the *Gītā* gives the word *Asura* people (जनाः आसुराः असत्यं अप्रति...) It may mean that the *Gītā* is quoting the opinion of the people from the country Asura. (Note:—Like———literature, the *Gītā* uses the word *Asura* to signify foreigners and not the word *Yavana*, which is used by Sauti in the *Mahābhārata*. The word *Yavana* is phonetically equivalent with the word Ionia, an old name for Greece. Even now the sea near Greece is called Ionian sea). We know from the *Bible* (*gen.* 10) that Noah had grandson called Assur. It appears that he had created a town in his name in 3000 b.c. For, under the word Assur the *Enc. Br.* says, "It is the name of the ancient capital of Assyria, built on a rocky headland on the west bank of the Tigris, 40 miles above the mouth of the lower Zab. It is first mentioned in

the 46th year of Dungi of Ur 2396 b.c. where the name is written in the Sumerian ideogram 'AUSUR.' It might be argued that this contradicts the statement made above that the town Assur was established in 3000 b.c. But p. 114, *N.G.M.Am.* Jan. 1930 says, "After 600 years of darkness from its heyday in 3000 b.c. Nammu again revived it. This coincides exactly with the statement made. Another interesting point with regard to the word Assur is that while speaking about the sons and grandsons of Noah, the *Bible* suddenly changes to the date 2347 b.c. and gives the age of Noah as 600 when the grandson Assur was born. The 600 years of the darkness in the history of Ur coincides with the absurdity of the age of Noah as a human being.

We have seen that the description of the earth disturbances near Kuru, the flooding of Dwāarakā, the vanishing of the Sarasvatī river, the flood deposits below Ur were all simultaneous events 5000 years ago. It can be also shown that Mexico in America in the same latitude as Dwāarakā had also been disturbed simultaneously. P. 216, *N.G.M.* August 1939 says, "Maya start their calendar from an event 5000 years ago, which must be of tremendous significance to them." P. 107, *N.G.M.* July 1931, also says that a lava flow 5000 years old buried a Maya cemetery. In the *Mahābhārata* we get the word मयासुर. It is not the intention of the author of this article to prove from this citation that India had contact with America.

Rajeshwara Shāstri of Benares told the author of this article that Swāmī Bhārati Tīrth had got an information from America that there is a Maya inscription giving the story of a Kaurava who had gone there. How far the statement is authentic is a point not yet investigated.



ART AND OUR CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD

By ASIT K. HALDAR.

As soon as the glamour of the Western Civilization subsided after the mid-Victorian age, we gradually began to realize that our Art and culture not only bore distinctive features of their own but had always been inspiring the world beyond. We became close students of our glorious past and conscious of its heritage. The historians of ancient and mediæval India told us that in those days India was not an isolated country that had always drawn in the horns like the tortoise. References to contacts with the foreigners can be found in the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini of the early sixth century B.C. and also in the *Manu-Saṃhitā* where the *Yavanas* who came to the Brahminical India in the remote ages are mentioned. With the discovery of the various sites at Mohenjo-Daro, Chanho-Daro and Harappa in Sind, Paithan, Maski and Ter at Hyderabad-Deccan, the history of ancient India has been pushed back to 3000 B.C. or even earlier. There we come across a distinct type of Vedic Civilization which was very highly developed indeed. The glazed potteries, copper utensils, terra-cotta figurines, beads, stone and glass bangles, architecture, including bath and sanitary system, shows the life that those people lived was never devoid of art or the æsthetic sense. The marvellous seals in terra-cotta reliefs of Mohenjo-Daro display the earliest school of Indo-Aryan sculpture. They can be compared favourably with the animal figures carved out on the capitals of Aśoka's pillar at Sarnath of the third century B.C. Both are treated very naturalistically. Mohenjo-Daro rhinoceros, bulls, tigers were represented almost in a life-like manner. Obviously such a culture could not have been confined within the limits of the area excavated. It spread

itself beyond the Sind. Modern scholars find similarities between the culture of Sind and that of the distant land of Sumeria.

The later Buddhist civilization of India had a great influence over the cultural movement in Asia. We know how pilgrims and pupils would undertake the risky journey across the Himalayas to learn the secret of India's greatness. Along with the Buddhist religion the early Chinese pilgrims took back with them the art of India to the Far East. From the famous Universities of Nālanda, Taxilla, Sarnath and many other ancient monasteries and temples, art, philosophy and literature developed and spread throughout the Asiatic Continent. Learned scholars and artists of China, Japan, Korea, Sumatra, Java and Bali came as pupils and left authentic records of their pilgrimages. Whatever they carried with them were assimilated in their soil. But they also retained the mark of their original spirit as we find so clearly in the Indonesian art of Siam, Cambodia, Java, Bali and Sumatra. The result was that in the Indonesian art of Java we see the great stamp of India's contribution as in Baroboduor sculpture and in Balinese temples in the Thousand Buddha temple sculptures and paintings in Honan, in the Ankor Vat, which is certainly the greatest architectural monument of the world. With the exploration of the Śrī-Devī temple in Cambodia many sculptures of Indian origin have been found. They are preserved in the Bongkok National Museum. They are pre-eminently of the Vaiṣṇava origin. Though the official religion of Khmer was Hinduism, Mahāyāna Buddhist faith which blended peculiarly with the former was tolerated. The earliest Indian influence in art there, could be traced as far back as seventh century, and wave after wave of direct influence by the Indian culture can be perceived subsequently.

In the Chinese Turkisthan in Khotan and Miran the graphic art of India spread and we get examples of paintings on silk still surviving the ravages of time. This also shows the vitality of Indian art. We still wonder how our art-motifs, our technique, our principles of creation could flourish in the foreign lands and after what may be called transplantation in difficult territory.

Naturally such a phenomenon requires explanation. The cultural expansion of India into greater India was mainly due to the spiritual fact that India always tried sincerely to get into the spirit of the cosmic reality and that she was never content with the surface value of life. Our artist-philosophers have always preached the openness of life, though they never understood it in terms of material success. Before the days of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja there were no restrictions imposed by the caste and creed and people could travel into distant lands to preach the gospel of Buddha. They went to Ceylon, China, Afganisthan wherever they wished to and left their marks in the shape of architecture, sculpture and painting. It will be wrong to consider the culture-contact as a single track journey. India also gained immensely. There are many beautiful things in the art-history of our country which came from outside. We were never weak to discard anything good because it was foreign. We were young, bold, vigorous and expanding. Thus Candragupta I could erect a replica of the Persipolitan architecture in his capital Pāṭaliputra. It was a magnificent palace. We still cannot imagine how it was possible to carve and build hundred stone pillared hall with highly glazed surface when steam, gas or electricity were unknown as motive power to do such jobs.

From the Buddhist chronicles we know that Mahendra invaded Ceylon and King Tishya of Ceylon established good relations with India after being initiated in the

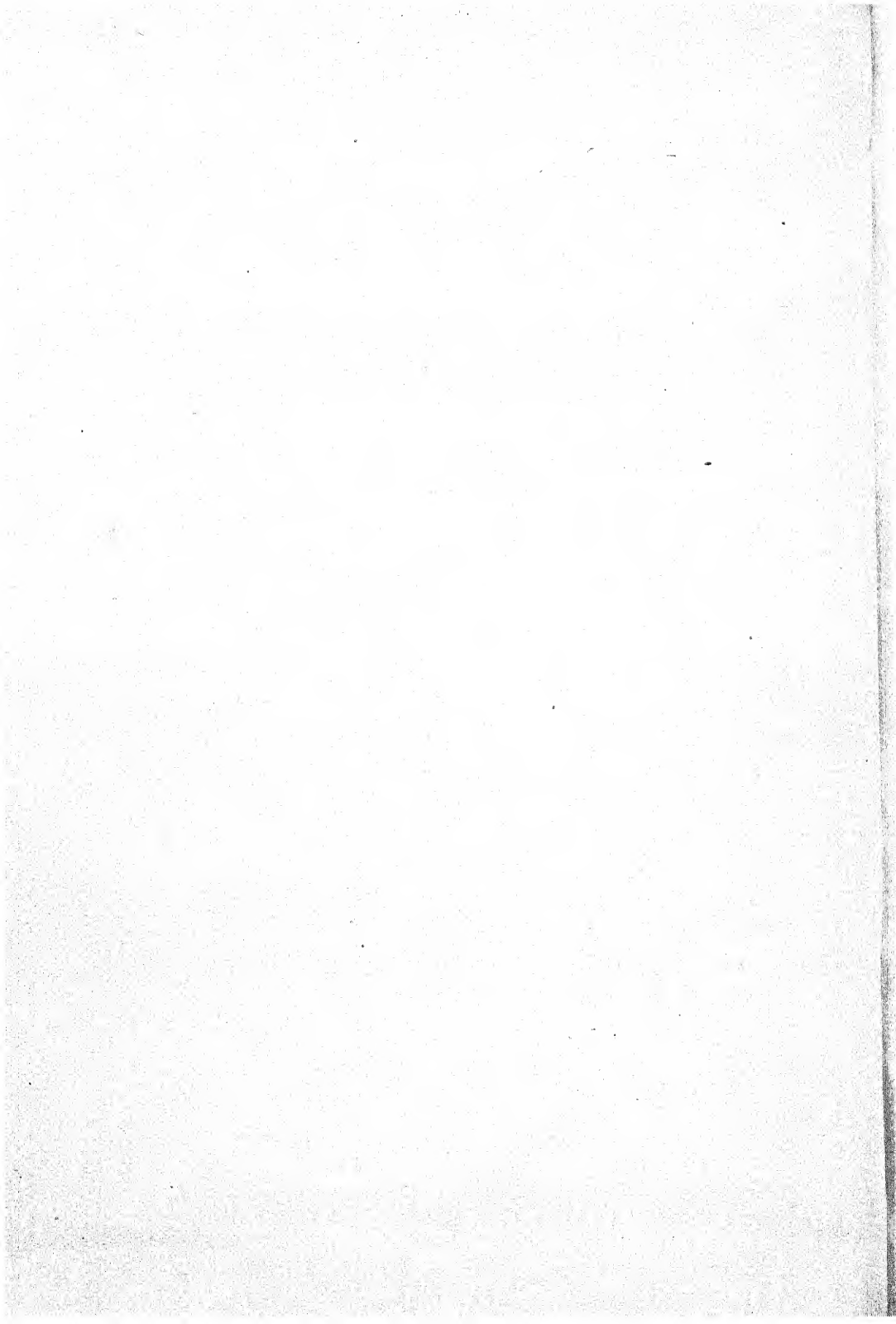
Buddhist faith himself. So we see the glorious examples of Indo-Buddhist sculpture and architecture in Anurādhā-pura ruins which inspired the later major and minor arts of Ceylon.

I have so far taken examples from ancient India. But it would be wrong to think that India ceased to grow after the downfall of Buddhism. In the time of the Moghul Emperors too Indian art kept up its great traditions and we know that the famous court-artist Bishan Das was specially commissioned by Shah Abbas I in Iran to paint his likeness. In the West artists like Rambrandt, were eager to collect specimens of Moghul miniatures in those days which are still preserved at Schoenbraunn palace in Vienna and at Bodlean Library at Oxford. The Moghuls contributed not only to the art of painting, but also to the architecture of India—the Indo-Saracenic type of which the Tajmahal stands up to this day as one of the greatest architectural monuments of the world. To mention only few of them, the granite mausoleum of Sher Shah at Saseram, Adil Shah's famous mausoleum in Bijapur with largest single dome of the world, Akbar's picturesque Fatehpur and Delhi fort palaces are buildings of which any country can be proud.

After the downfall of the Moghul Empire, the vitality of the country seems to have been reduced. So when India resumed contact with the outside world, the immediate effect was an indifference to, if not a wilful neglect of, her genius. Educated people began to ape foreign manners and reject the traditional values of our art. But by the beginning of this century, Lord Curzon turned the attention of all thinking people to the glory, the beauty and the significance of India's monuments. As yet, the interest was still archæological. It was left to Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore to raise the level of that interest into one of deep appreciation of the spirit of

Indian culture and along with his disciples, worked through art to achieve that end. And their attempt was indeed successful. Now it was no longer possible to condemn Indian painting as being primitive in its absence of naturalistic rendering through the science of perspective and anatomy. On the other hand, there are evidences to prove that Indian painting, Music and other fine arts have influenced modern Euro-American art as they too have begun to seek primarily idealism rather than naturalism. If the main influence of India on Europe and America in the 19th century came from philosophy, in the 20th century it pours out through Art.

To conclude this hasty survey, every nation has got its own physical and mental features. Art cannot grow without a vigorous life around; it is life that moulds the artform of every country. Therefore, the individual merits and demerits can be adjudged only when we know the process of evolution and achievements of the country's culture. India has her own heritage and the world has profited by it. To-day more than ever, the world should know more about India's legacy and we the dwellers of Hindusthan be possessed by it. For we feel that India's message of peace by a cultivation of the soul which she has so long conveyed through her art and culture has to be learnt by the world, sooner than later. If in the ancient and mediæval times India was the hub of Asiatic culture, in the modern period she has a larger part to play, a greater and much richer contribution to make to the world as a whole. And we are strongly of the opinion that such a contribution will come mainly through India's Fine Arts.



THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ADHYĀTMARĀMĀYAṆA*

By RAGHUVARA MITTHŪLĀL SHĀSTRĪ

नत्वाज-व्यास-तत्पुत्र-शङ्कर-श्रीधरोत्थिताम् । हेमाद्रिवोपदेवाभ्यां मधुसूदनमागताम् ॥
शिवध्यानानुगुण्येन रामानन्दप्रकाशिताम् । परात्मज्ञानपक्षीयाऽनन्यभक्तिपरम्परा ॥
अध्यात्मरामायणकर्तृगोचरः कश्चिद् विचारो गमितो वचःपथम् ।
विद्वद्भिरद्यावधि नेति चिन्तया प्रस्तूयतेऽद्यैष मनोहरो मया ॥

The *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* is generally believed to be a part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*¹ having Vyāsa for its traditional author. But as yet no MS of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* containing it has been discovered. The printed *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* has got nothing of the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, not even the *Māhātmya-sarga* which claims to belong to the *Uttara-khaṇḍa* (?) of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The *Nāradyapurāṇa*,² too, in its description of the contents of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, makes no mention of the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* or its *Māhātmya*. The late Paṇḍita Jvālāprasada Miśra of Moradabad (U. P.), in his *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*,³ mentioned the

* Paper read in the Sanskrit Section of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares H. U., on December 31, 1943. For references the Nirṇaya Sagar Press (Bombay) text edition may be consulted.

¹ Rājendralal Mitra: *Notices of Skt. MSS* Vol. IV, p. 94 (No. 1501); G. Oppert: *Lists of Skt. MSS in Private Libraries of Southern India*, Vol. II (Madras, 1885), Nos. 4459, 10076, etc.; cf. *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, *Māhātmya-Sarga*, verse 20, where it is called *Purāṇottama* (best of the Purāṇas), and *Ādi-kāṇḍa*, sarga i, verse 3, where it is praised as *sarva-purāṇa-sammata* (honoured of all the Purāṇas).

² I, 109.

³ Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, Saṁvat 1962, p. 414.

Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa as one of the numerous Apocrypha of this *Purāṇa*, of which he has named over 85, and remarked that the majority of them were modern works and that there would remain no quarrel if they were said to belong to the *Upa-* (Minor) *Purāṇa* rather than the *Mahā-* (Major) *Purāṇa* of that name. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*,⁴ wrote as follows:—

“There is a work, entitled the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which Ekanātha [see his *Bhāvārtha-Rāmayāṇa, Aranya-kāṇḍa*], a Mahārāṣṭra saint, who flourished in the sixteenth century, calls a modern treatise, composed of excerpts from older writings and having no pretence to be considered as emanating from the old Ṛṣis.”

Lala Baijnath in the Introduction to his English translation⁵ of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* wrote:—

“The *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* is a canonical book of the Vaiṣṇavas and is a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa*. It is very highly respected by all classes of Hindus for the beauty of its language, its flow of verse, its clear statement of the doctrines of the Vedānta, and like the *Bhagavad-gītā*, for its combination of the path of devotion with that of knowledge The language of the book though not the simple language of Vālmīki, often rises to eloquence especially in its devotional portions and the sonorous flow of its verse lends it quite a unique charm. Nothing is known of its author or as to who he was or where he flourished. The internal evidence furnished by it however points out to a modern origin, after the system of worship inculcated by the Tantras had come into vogue. So far as one could see from its language and trend of thought it appears to be posterior even to the *Śrīmad-*

⁴ *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. IV, p. 67.

⁵ In the “*Sacred Books of the Hindus*” (Extra Volume), Panini Office, Allahabad, 1913, p. i.

Bhāgavata, the other canonical work of the Vaiṣṇavite sect, written about the 14th century."

The popular title of the work is *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*⁶; but it calls itself not infrequently by other names⁷ as well.

Now, there is a part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, called the *Pratisargaparvan*, known also to the *Nāradya-purāṇa*, which describes the contents of all the 18 Major *Purāṇas* in its 18 chapters.⁸ But unfortunately I have not as yet come across the original *Pratisargaparvan*. It may or may not be the one noticed by the late Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Śāstrī.⁹ The Bombay edition of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, however, includes the *Kaliyugīyetihāsa-samuccaya* alias *Caturyuga-khaṇḍa* in 4 parts, claiming to include 7000 *Ślokas* (by real counting 5997 verses) in all and, as denoted by its colophons, purporting to belong to the *Pratisarga-parvan*, which is published from a single MS¹⁰ belonging to Thākur Mahān-chandra, Rais of Amritsar (Panjab).

Notwithstanding the question of its genuineness, this pseudepigraphic *Pratisargaparvan*, in places, contains

⁶ In all the colophons; as also in 17 places of its *Māhātmya-sarga* from v. 20 to v. 59; and in three other places of the main work, viz., in I. i. 4, VI. xvi. 41 and 48, besides I. i. 3 and VI. xvi. 35, where it is called *Adhyātmika-Saṁjñita Rāmāyaṇa*.

⁷ *Adhyātma-Rāmacarita* in three places, viz., in the *Māhātmya-sarga*, v. 60, and in I. ii. 4 and VI. xvi. 44; simply as *Adhyātma-Rāma* in two places, viz., in I. i. 5 and VII. ix. 72; merely as *Rāmacarita* throughout the whole work in its *Tāntrika* introductions of individual books as well as of chapters, which, in their beginning, give also the name of *Adhyātmamarāmāyaṇa*, the last book, anyhow, containing no such *Tāntrika* introductions; and noteworthy *Adhyātmika-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 38 and *Adhi-Rāma-Saṁhitā* in VI. xvi. 39.—the word *Saṁhitā* in the last two names justifying Sir Bhandarkar's quotation of Ekaṇātha's words, "composed of excerpts from older writings . . ."

⁸ I. 92—109.

⁹ *Catalogue of Skt. MSS*, A.S.B., Vol. V, No. 3738.

¹⁰ Publisher's Notice in Sanskrit, in the beginning of the printed *Pratisargaparvan*; and *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, p. 251,

valuable information not available from any other source. As, for instance, it¹¹ says that Jīvānanda and Rūpānanda became the disciples of Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of Śāntipurī and came to be honoured by all; and, at his command, Jīva wrote the 6 *Sandarbhas* (sc. of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*), and Rūpa composed the *Kṛṣṇa-Khaṇḍa* of 10,000 (*ślokas*), forming part of the *Purāṇa*, sitting at his feet and worshipping Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Thus, we learn that the real author of the present *Śrīkṛṣṇa-jaṇma-khaṇḍa*, an important part of the *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, was Rūpa-Gosvāmin, and not Vyāsa as is generally believed. This information gets full corroboration from the results of modern research.¹²

Similarly, it tells¹³ us that one Rāmaśarman who dwelt at Kāśī was a devout worshipper of Śiva. To him the God appeared on the Śivarātri and was pleased to grant him a boon. The devotee asked for the dwelling in his heart of the Deity on whom Śiva pondered in his

¹¹ IV. xix. 33—39.

¹² *Aṣṭādaśa-purāṇa-darpaṇa*, pp. 271—273; and Dr. R. C. Hazra's *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 166,—"The *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa*.—This voluminous work, which consists of four parts, viz. (I) *Brahma-Kh.*, (II) *Prakṛti-kh.*, (III) *Gaṇapati-Kh.*, and (IV) *Kṛṣṇa-Janma-Kh.*, glorifies Kṛṣṇa and identifies him with the supreme Brahman. It seems to have been meant for preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā"

"A perusal of the *Brahmavaivarta p.* shows that it is one of the latest of the extant Purāṇic works. Jogesh Chandra Roy has carefully examined this Purāṇa and come to the conclusion that it was first composed most probably in the 8th century A.D. From about the 10th century it began to be changed by the interfering hands of the Bengal authors who recast it to its present form and contents in the sixteenth century. In spite of this late recast, there are portions which have been retained from an earlier form of the Purāṇa.

"... the Purāṇa with its present contents was not known to the writers of even the sixteenth century A.D., and that all the Smṛti-chapters, except IV, 8 and 26, are very late additions"; and p. 167,—"... it seems highly probable that before 700 A.D. there existed a *Brahmavaivarta* which is now lost."

¹³ IV. xix. 21—32.

meditations. Śiva gave him the meditation on Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa and worship of Balabhadra and then disappeared. He (the devotee) was (became) Rāmānanda¹⁴ (*lit.*, one exulting in Rāma), and coming to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya of 12 years' age became his disciple; and, at the latter's instance, he composed the auspicious *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*.

Divested of its figmentary element, the story means that Rāmānanda of Kāśī, immediately after his conversion from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism and before instituting his own sect of Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas, composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*. His going to Caitanya or becoming the latter's disciple is a pure invention typical of the comparatively modern author of the 4th *Khaṇḍa* of the present *Pratisargapravan*, who, to all intents and purpose, was writing everything only to glorify Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya. Reading this *Khaṇḍa* closely, one finds that every now and then a religious teacher or author of note is made to pay a visit to Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya¹⁵ at Śāntipur^{15a}-Nadīhā (*i.e.*, Nadia in Bengal) in a certain year of the latter's life and, in the capacity of his disciple, to take orders from him, irrespective of the fact that the two could be contemporaries or not.

Thus, from this as well as from Ekanātha's evidence, we come to know that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* was

¹⁴ Evidently, the reading 'Rāmānandasya' (xix. 31), which gives no sense in the present context, is a printer's devil for 'Rāmānandas-sa'; cf. *Viṣṇusvāmī-sa* (xix. 40), *Jayadevas-sa* (xix. 46), *Bhaṭṭojis-sa* (xx. 1). *Rāmānujas-sa* (xiv. 87), etc.

¹⁵ *Īśvara* [Purī, vii. 31—34], xix. 6—13; *Ropana*, xix. 2—4 and xx. 65—66; *Śrīdhara* [Svāmin], xix. 14—20; *Viṣṇu-Svāmin*, xix. 40—47; *Madhvācārya*, xix. 48—66, *Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita*, xx. 1—10; *Varāhamihira*, xx. 11—21; *Vāṇibhūṣana*, xx. 22—35; *Dhanvantari*, xx. 36—45; *Jayadeva*, xx. 46—62, etc. For *Yajñānśa Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya*, see also ix. 66; x, particularly 32—33; the last part of xx; xxi. 1, (2—35,) 36—37, 38—44, 51, 80; xxii. 5, 48—50; xxiii. 18, 76; and xxiv. 59—61.

^{15a} iv. 24; vi. 61; xvii. 88 and xxi. 37; xix. 7, 20, 33, 40, 48; xxi. 77; xxii. 5, 50; and xxiv. 59.

not a part of the *Brahmāṇḍa* or any other *Purāṇa* written by Vyāsa or was not the work of any other Ṛṣi of ancient times, but is a comparatively modern work, and, from this single source, that its author was one Rāmaśarman or Rāmānanda, who lived at Kāśī and formerly worshipped Śiva and latterly became a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava.

But how, it might be asked, can, in view of the fact that there were more than one Rāmānanda, the authorship of this work be ascribed to the great Vaiṣṇava teacher and not to anyone else from amongst his namesakes? Besides one Rāmānanda [Rāya], a follower of Caitanya himself, nine others are mentioned by T. Aufrecht.¹⁶ The reply would be that we cannot think of Caitanya's Rāmānanda who was an Oṛiyā Kṛṣṇaite^{16a} and not a Rāmaite Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa of Kāśī; and all others, too, should be rejected on account of the clear indication in this part of the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* as well as in the life of the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya that none else can be connected with the origin of the work in question.

In connection with Rāmānanda's birth this *Khaṇḍa* (IV)¹⁷ tells us that the Sun-god concentrated His mass of lustre at Kāśī and therefrom was Rāmānanda born of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. The boy, from his very infancy, was a *jñānin* (sage) devoted to the name of Rāma; and, (therefore) being left by his parents, he resorted to Rāghava (meaning Rāma as well as Rāghavānanda Svāmin) as his refuge. Then, Lord Hari, the Lord of Sītā, having 14 digits, Himself, gladly adopted residence in his heart. It¹⁸ also says something about the leanings of Rāmānanda towards the Śāṅkara school of

¹⁶ *Catalogorus Catalogorum*, pp. 520-521.

^{16a} Originally hailing from Vidyānagara in Central India (see D. C. Sen: *Chaitanya and His Companions*, pp. 89—100).

¹⁷ vii. 52—56.

¹⁸ (1) xiv. 87—118, and (2) xviii. 53—55.

Philosophy in two places. (i) Rāmānuja was born in the house of Ācāryaśarman of the South and was a younger brother of Rāmaśarman. The latter who was a follower of Patañjali, *i.e.*, a Yogin, happened, in connection with pilgrimage, to come to Kāśī, where surrounded by his 100 disciples he started a discussion with Śaṅkarācārya. Defeated by the latter he returned home, full of shame and feeling the pinch of (insult inflicted by) Śaṅkara's words. Rāmānuja who was well versed in all the śāstras, came to Kāśī, surrounded by the disciples of his brother; and a discussion in the Vedānta-śāstra ensued between him advocating Kṛṣṇa and Śaṅkara pleading for Śiva. Śaṅkara was defeated by Rāmānuja in all the śāstras on whichever he took his stand one after another, *viz.*, in the Vedānta, Bhāṣya, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Yoga and Sāṅkhya; and ultimately being ashamed he adopted white garment and, becoming a disciple of Rāmānuja, was purified by muttering the name of 'Govinda' in his heart. The above story, a pure myth coined by the author, if it means anything, only shows the triumph of *Kṛṣṇa-bhakti* over the Advaita Philosophy of Śaṅkarācārya to which even Rāmaśarman or Rāmānanda, though himself a great advocate of *Bhakti* and claimed by his sect to have owned an older tradition of Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas (all of whom originally belonged to the South) than Rāmānuja's, had simply to yield. (2) Raidāsa, son of Mānadāsa, a cobbler, coming to Kāśī and there defeating Kabīra, a devotee of Rāma, went to Śaṅkarācārya for a discussion, which took place between them for a whole day and night. Raidāsa, being defeated by and paying obeisance to that leader of the Brāhmaṇas (*i.e.*, Śaṅkarācārya), came to Rāmānanda and became his disciple. This story, too, like the previous one, proves greater affinities of Rāmānanda with the Vedānta of Śaṅkarācārya than with any other form of it preached by the Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas.

The description of Rāmānanda in many other places of this *Khaṇḍa*, unmistakably establishes his identity. Trilocana,¹⁹ Nāmadeva²⁰ who constructed a *ghāt* at Kāśī with ½ crore of coins he got from Sikandara the Sultān of Delhi, and Naraśrī (Narasī or Naraśimha Mehtā) of Gurjaradeśa²¹ are described as coming to Kāśī and there becoming the disciples of Rāmānanda. Similarly, Rāmānanda is said to be the preceptor of Raṅkaṇa,²² Kabīra²³ whose disciple was the butcher Sadhana²⁴, Pīpā²⁵ and Nānaka²⁶. Like Nimbāditya (Nimbārka), Viṣṇu-svāmin, Madhvācārya, Śaṅkarācārya, Varāhamihira, Vāṇībhūṣaṇa, Dhanvantari, Bhaṭṭoji, Ropana and Jayadeva respectively at Kāñcī, Haridvāra, Mathurā, Kāśī, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Utpalāranya, Iṣṭikā (? Etawah), and Dvārakā, a disciple of our Rāmānanda at Ayodhyā is said to have upset the *Yantra* originally set up at 7 religious cities and perhaps later on fixed also at every one of the above-mentioned towns by Sukandara, the king of Mlecchas, for converting the Āryas who happened to pass under it into Mlecchas, and, thus, to have brought back such people to the Hindu fold.²⁷ And in this connection the followers of Rāmānanda and Nimbāditya are said to have been of two kinds,—(1) Āryas who were the chief followers called *Vaiṣṇavas* and (2) Mleccha reconverts to Hinduism who were called *Saṁyogins*.²⁸ Again, from amongst the

¹⁹ xv. 64—67.

²⁰ xvi. 51—55; xx. 64-65.

²¹ xvii. 60—66.

²² xvi. 81.

²³ xvii. 40.

²⁴ xviii. 50-51.

²⁵ xvii. 83-85.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 86-87.

²⁷ xxi. 45—75.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 54-55 and 58.

20 disciples of Mukunda Brahmācārin, while, after their self-immolation and rebirth with their preceptor incarnated as Emperor Akbar²⁹, 7 of them adorned the latter's court³⁰ and 13 went to different places,³¹ there were 5 who are said to have joined the sect of Rāmānanda. Thus (1) Śrīdhara was born as Anapa's son, Tulasīśarman, the renowned poet, well-versed in the Purāṇas, who, accepting the advice of his wife, came to Rāghavānanda and, assuming the discipleship in the sect of Rāmānanda, settled at Kāśī³²; (3) Śambhu was born as Haripriya (*lit.*, dear to Hari) in the race of Candrabhaṭṭa and established himself in the sect of Rāmānanda, always singing the praises of the devotees³³; (4) Vareṇya was born as Agrabhuk (perhaps the same as Svāmī Agradāsa), always engaged in knowledge and meditation, who was a poet of *Bhāṣā* metres and got settled in the sect of Rāmānanda³⁴; (5) Madhuvratī was born as Kīlaka, who instituted (or wrote) *Rāmālīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect³⁵; and (6) Vimala was born as Divākara by name who, wise as he was, instituted (or wrote) *Sītālīlā* and got settled in Rāmānanda's sect³⁶.

According to Macauliffe (*Sikh*, VI, p. 100), Rāmānanda was born at Mailkot in Mysore. Similarly, in J. N. Farquhar's opinion Rāmānanda originally belonged to the South and "migrated to North India about A.D. 1400(?) and there preached to men of all castes using the

²⁹ xxii. 9—17.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 20—26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 27.

³² *Ibid.*, 27—29. The second disciple did not belong to Rāmānanda's sect.

³³ *Ibid.*, 30—31.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 31—32.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 32—33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 33—34.

Vernacular in every thing.”³⁷ All other accounts agree in fixing his birth-place at Prayāga, wherefrom he, at an early age, went to Kāśī and settled there.³⁸ Dr. P. D. Barthwal writes as follows:—

“ According to *Bharīsyottara-khaṇḍa*, a later addendum to the *Agastya-Saṁhitā* . . . Rāmānanda was born at Allahabad in 1299 A.D. and died in 1410 Rāmānanda is said to have first received instruction from a Śaṅkaran Advaitist but was later transferred to Rāghavānanda, the Rāmānujan Viśiṣṭādvaitist, whose miraculous Yogic powers are said to have saved him from impending death. *Siddhānta-paṭala*, a small work attributed to Rāmānanda and represented to have been addressed to him by Rāghavānanda, evinces a perfect commingling of Yoga and Vaiṣṇavism; and the ashes, the burning fire, the *trikuṭī* are mentioned in it side by side with Basil (*tulasī*) and Śālagrāma.³⁹

“ Rāmānanda . . . is said to have come of a high Brāhmaṇa family of Prayāga. He was educated at Benares, his favourite subject being the Śaṅkaran Advaitic Philosophy. But he received the orders of renunciation at the hands of Rāghavānanda, a Viśiṣṭādvaitin saint in the direct descent of Rāmānuja’s discipleship, who is said to have saved his life through his occult powers.⁴⁰

“Rāghavānanda was a great Yogin who is reputed to have saved Rāmānanda’s life through his Yogic powers . . . Rāmānanda is himself reputed in his sect to have been a

³⁷ *The Crown of Hinduism*, p. 387; see also *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 324.

³⁸ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, quoting from a MS of the *Agastya-saṁhitā* in his *Saivism, Vaiṣṇavism, etc.*, pp. 93—95; Dr. P. D. Barthwal in his *Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249; Shāli-grāma Shrivāstava in his *Prayāga-pradīpa*, p. 30.

³⁹ Barthwal: *Nirguna School of Hindi Poetry*, p. 249.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

great Yogin. The two currents [sc., spiritual realisation and 'Yogic practices as a help to spiritual realisation' (p. 196)] thus met in Rāmānanda.⁴¹ . . .

"It was in Rāmānanda that Nāthism and Vaiṣṇavism discernibly met. [In support of this *Siddhānta-pāṭala* . . . may be cited in which Vaiṣṇava Śāligrāma is enthroned in the Yoga *Trikūṭī*.]⁴²

"Rāmānanda prescribed the Śāligrāma for exactly the same purpose.⁴³

"In what of the *Aikāntika-dharma* came to Rāmānanda, *Premā-Bhakti* was considered the crowning of all the nine aspects of *Bhakti* and was therefore called the *Daśadhā Bhakti*.⁴⁴

" . . . *Premā-Bhakti* and *Adhyātma-vidyā* appear to be the two sides of the same shield . . . And for this they are directly indebted to Rāmānanda.⁴⁵

" . . . Still Śāṅkarism did influence the general thought of the people and in the end penetrated the Vaiṣṇava fold itself . . . In North India Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita lost its acrimony and the Advaita *Guru* of Rāmānanda gave his illustrious disciple to Rāghavānanda, the Viśiṣṭādvaitin, who had saved the boy's life through his Yogic powers. The change of masters does not appear to have involved a break with the principles of philosophy that Rāmānanda devotedly learnt during his early years. He seems to have adopted the Vaiṣṇava *Bhakti* only to fit it into the Advaita system of Śāṅkarācārya. The rupture that he had with the sect of his new *Guru* must have some connection with his philosophic leanings also. Thus did monistic pantheism and the

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vi, text and footnote 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. viii.

love of a personal God, the essential characteristic of Vaiṣṇavism, join hands in Rāmānanda."⁴⁶

Mr. Shāligrāma Shrivastava writes as follows: "In his (*i.e.*, Alāuddīn Khiljī's) reign, about 1300 A.D., was born at Prayāga the famous Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Svāmī Rāmānanda, who afterwards went to Kāśī and becoming an ascetic settled there;" and again, in the footnote, "He was a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa. His previous name was Rāmadatta. Receiving ordinary education, at the age of 12 years he went to Kāśī for special higher studies."⁴⁷

From the above account of his life it will be amply made clear that the author of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* could be no other person than the great Vaiṣṇava Ācārya Rāmānanda, and that it is he who, in the Bombay edition of the *Bhāviṣyapurāṇa*, is described both as Rānīśārman as well as Rāmānanda and both as living at Kāśī as well as coming from the South like Rāmānuja. The readers have to take the implied meaning of the descriptions of this *Purāṇa-khaṇḍa* rather than its words at their face value.

Now, among the later *Upaniṣads* there is one called the *Rāmatāpaniṣya* or *Rāmatāpa* (? *pi*)*nī*. Unlike the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which, perhaps owing to its blending of the *Advaita Vedānta*, the former creed of their teacher, with *Rāmabhakti*, was ignored by the majority of Rāmānanda's followers, this *Upaniṣad* has always been specially sacred to the Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavas. About it Weber wrote as follows:—

"The first part, in 95 *ślokas*, contains at the beginning a short sketch of Rāma's life, which bears a great similarity to that at the beginning of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* (in the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*). The *mantrarāja* is

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁴⁷ *Prayāga-pradīpa* (in Hindi), p. 30.

next taught by the help of a mystical alphabet specially invented for the purpose.”⁴⁸ And again:—“But further, the *Rāmātāpanī* displays still closer relations to Rāmānanda, who is supposed to have lived towards the end of the 14th century.”⁴⁹

Again, in Gadādhara’s *Sampradāya-pradīpa*,⁵⁰ a MS work in praise of Vallabhācārya and his sect, we are told⁵¹ that ‘From Vidyānagara, Vallabha proceeded to Prayāga, Kāśī and Badarikāśrama. At Badarikāśrama Vyāsa appeared before him and granted him the boon of Omniscience. Vallabha came to Haridvāra and thence to Kurukṣetra. There he became the guest at Thāneśvara of Rāmānanda who worshipped Viṣṇu according to the Tāntrika system. He was the worshipper of the stone Śālagrāma. Vallabha remonstrated with him saying that the stone is merely a temple. You should worship the image of Kṛṣṇa. He did not agree, but his brother Śaṅkara agreed and became a disciple of Prabhupāda under the name of Prabhudāsa. Vallabha came to Benares . . . ’; and also that ‘His chief disciples at Dvārakā were Nārāyaṇa Dvivedī and Acyutāśrama. Rāṇā Vyāsa was at first a disciple of Rāmānanda, but he at last became a disciple of Vallabha at Purī.’

Allowing a fair margin to the fanatic proclivities of sectarian authors not always caring about the limitations of time and space, we may safely infer that it is our Rāmānanda or one of his followers who is meant here. This is another proof of his Tāntrika or Yogic and

⁴⁸ *History of Indian Literature* (4th edition, 1904, London), p. 168.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190, footnote.

⁵⁰ Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī’s *A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. MSS in the Govt. College under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. IV (*History and Geography*, Calcutta, 1923), pp. 98 ff.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 102 and 103.

Śaṅkarite leanings which get their full expression in his *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*. The contact between the *Rāmātāpanī* and the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, which is only hinted by Weber, can be amplified by a detailed comparison of both these works. And surveying other minor *Upaniṣads* in the light of the tenets of the Rāmānandīya sect one cannot resist the conclusion that not only the above-mentioned two works but also some other *Upaniṣads*, e.g., *Sītā*, *Advayatāraka*, *Rāmārahasya* and perhaps even the well-known *Muktikā*, are to be associated with Rāmānanda's faith.

It appears that as time went on and as the sect grew, limiting itself to the principles expounded in its Hindi literature, it, not only gradually lost its touch with but also, in its sectarian zeal, developed an indifference towards the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the best Sanskrit work of Rāmānanda; just as, in later times, it began to repudiate its connection with Rāmānuja's sect. To me, however, it appears a correct view that the great Ācārya Rāmānanda represented a practically harmonious combination and perhaps the best possible synthesis of the philosophies of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in their application to *Rāmopāsana*.

The sect now claims, on the authority of Svāmī Agradāsa, pupil of PayāhārīKṛṣṇadāsa, pupil of Aanatānanda, pupil of the illustrious Rāmānanda, that Rāghavānanda, whose disciple their great Ācārya was, did not belong to the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja descended in the line of Nara-Nārāyaṇa, but came in the direct spiritual descent of Śrī-Rāma, Jānakī, Hanumān, Brahmā, Vaśiṣṭha, Parāśara, Vedavyāsa, Śuka, etc., representing the real and original Śrī-Sampradāya.⁵² It

⁵² *Dhyāna-mañjarī* by Svāmī Agradāsa (Ayodhyā, Sainvat 1997), p. 12; *Śrī-Rāma-mantra-parama-Vaidika-Siddhānta* by Pt. Sarayūdāsa (Ayodhyā), pp. 29—32, 52 and 121.

may, however, be pointed out that besides the first three names peculiar to this sect, which the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* also accepts,⁵³ the remaining five,—after which there is a big gap up to the name of Puruṣottamācārya [followed by three names ending in *Ācārya* and 15 in *Ānanda*, besides three others of the latter variety],—in this *Guru-paramparā* (line of teachers) are exactly identical with those in that of Śaṅkarācārya's school, with the exclusion of only two names, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇa before Brahmanā (*Padmabhava*), and Śakti between Vasiṣṭha and Parāśara, from the latter.⁵⁴ Again, like the latter, it also contains a large number of names of teachers ending in *ānanda*. Whether the gap, too, represented the continuity of Śaṅkarācārya's *Guru-paramparā* or not needs no discussion; because the identity of the five names and similar ending in the majority of others in these two traditions suffice to prove that Rāmānandīya Vaiṣṇavism,—which unlike the Rāmānujīya one, not only is tolerant of Śīva and all that He represents but also pays special respects to Him for His being the ideal torch-bearer of *Rāma-bhakti*,—originated from the Advaita school of Śaṅkarācārya for laying special emphasis on the highest devotion to Rāma,—just like the school of Advaita Bhaktas, represented by Śrīdhara, Svāmin, Vopadeva-Hemādri, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, etc., laying special emphasis on *Kṛṣṇa-Bhakti*,—as an essential accessory to knowledge leading to *mokṣa*. Rāmānanda composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* to suit the same purpose of the Rāma-bhaktas

⁵³ I. i. 25, 29—31, 52, 54; and VI. xvi. 6—17; and perhaps also suggested in V. v. 60—64.

⁵⁴ Cf. नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च ।

व्यासं शुक्रं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥

श्रीशङ्कराचार्यमथास्य पद्म-पादं च हस्तामलकं च शिष्यम् ।

तं त्रोटकं वार्तिककारमन्यानास्मद्गुरुन् सन्ततमानतोऽस्मि ॥

as was served by the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata-mahāpurāṇa* in case of the Kṛṣṇa-bhaktas of the said school.⁵⁵ Rāmānanda had drunk deep at the nectar-ocean of the latter work which he freely drew upon in writing his *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, as is clear from the numerous contacts between these two works.⁵⁶ I intend to do full justice to this point in a separate paper. L. Baijnath has wrongly assigned the 14th century to the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, whose date⁵⁷ according to modern research varies from the 6th down to the 11th, but in no case to a later, century.

⁵⁵ Cf. Jīva Gosvāmin's *Tattva-sandarbhā* (the first of his 6 *Bhāgavata-Sandarbhās*), published by Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārin (Calcutta, Caitanya era 433), pp. 67-68 and 76-78, referring to works on Advaitavādins' interpretation of the *Bhāgavata* prevalent in the Madhyadeśa, etc., and especially to Śrīdhara Svāmī's commentary under the same category.

⁵⁶ A R., III. iv; IV. iv; etc., with *Ś Bh.*, XI. iii; xi; etc.; and especially AR, VII. vii. 60-80 with *Ś Bh.*, III. xxix. 7-27 and 34-35. The author of the AR was perhaps also well-acquainted with Vopadeva's *Muktāphala*, which has ever since remained a source of inspiration to the writers of various schools of *Bhakti*: cf. *Susiddhāntottama* of Priyādāsa, *Bhaktiratnāvalī* of the Maithilī Saint Viṣṇupurī of Kāśī, and the works of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, and the authors of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava school, Jīva Gosvāmin, Baladeva, etc.

⁵⁷ Wilson, Macdonell, Colebrooke and Burnouf who placed the *Bhāgavata* in the 13th century A.C. have now become out-of-date, in view of the following results:—

(1) Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Saivism, etc.*, (*op. cit.*, pp. 68-69), fixes the date of the *Bhāgavata* 'at least two centuries before Anandatīrtha' who flourished 'about 1199-1278 A.D.' and further says, "It cannot be very much older."

(2) Alberuni's *India* [see Sachau, Vol. I (1910), Ch. XII, p. 131] contains the name of the "*Bhāgavata* (*i.e.*, *Vāsudeva*)" which unmistakably refers to the work in question, in Alberuni's list of the [Mahā-] Purāṇas, proving that it is much older than the 11th century.

(3) C. V. Vaidya, in *JBRRAS*, 1925, pp. 144, etc., dates it in the 10th century. See also Farquhar: *Outlines of the Religious Literature of India* pp. 229, etc.; Winternitz: *Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556; etc.; placing it not earlier than the 9th century.

There are indications in the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* itself, which, as internal evidence, may be adduced to prove that its author was no other than our Rāmānanda. In spite of the fact that Śiva⁵⁸ and Brahmā⁵⁹ are said to have respectively described to Pārvatī [and Brahmā] and Nārada the original *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* and its *Māhātmya* (importance), limiting the same to their respective spheres, *Kailāsa*⁶⁰ and *Satyaloḥa*⁶¹, the work in its present tangible form had still to emerge and become prevalent, at a distant future⁶² time, in the world of mortals⁶³ through a human author whose personality finds its expression, though perhaps unintentionally, in

(4) Pargiter in his *A. I. H. Tradition*, p. 80, dates the *Bhāgarata* "about the 9th century."

(5) Durgashanker Sastri, in *Bhāratīya-Vidyā*, II, pp. 129-139 is dating it 'not before the 8th century.'

(6) Dr. R. C. Hazra in his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records*, etc., pp. 54-55, has decided that 'the *Bhāgarata* cannot possibly be later than 800 A.D.' or 'earlier than about 500 A.D.'; and says that it is highly probable that it was composed in the former half of the 6th century.

(7) Mr. Amaranatha Ray, in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (London), VIII, pp. 107 ff. and *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, II, iii, has arrived at the conclusion that the *Bhāgarata* is to be assigned to the period between 550 and 650 A.D. and more probably to the first half of the 6th century.

(8) Mr. B. N. K. Sarma, in *ABORI*, XIV, pp. 182, etc., comes to almost the same conclusion and (on pp. 216-17) adds that owing to the mention of the Tamil Vaiṣṇava saints (XI. v. 38-40) and Hūṇa devotees (II. iv. 18 and vii. 46) in it, the *Bhāgarata* cannot be earlier than the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

⁵⁸ *Māhātmyasarga*, vv. 18-21, (28, 46); I. i. 5-17, 25, 53; ii. 1-5; VI. xvi. 35, 49; VII. ix. 68, 70-71.

⁵⁹ *M.-sarga*, vv. 2-6, 17-18, 27-28, 36, 46-47, 59-60.

⁶⁰ I. i. 6.

⁶¹ *M.-sarga*, vv. 2-4.

⁶² *Ibid.*, vv. 21-26.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, vv. 21-26, 47, 60.

several places in the text. This human author has twice⁶⁴ paid his devotional obeisance to the Lord of Jānakī or Sītā even before introducing the occasion⁶⁵ for a dialogue between Śiva and His Consort, Pārvatī. It is he who in three verses⁶⁶ describes the importance of this work in its beginning. Again, it is he who, at the end of Book VI, though incongruously putting it in the mouth of Śiva, tells us that⁶⁷ the latter briefly related this essence of all the Vedas (*i.e.*, the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*) to His Consort (*i.e.*, Pārvatī). The commentator (Rāmavarman-*cum*-Nāgeśa) rightly discerned the incongruity and consequently though not very reasonably remarked that a pupil of Śiva (who, according to the editor's footnote, was also hearing the story of Rāma being propounded to Pārvatī on the Kailāśa mountain) was responsible for the present stanza, *i.e.*, VI. xvi. 49 (and not Śiva Himself as the context would force). Again, in several places, our human author over-emphasises the fact that a certain part of the teaching of this work was directly⁶⁸ due to Rāma or Śiva as the case might be, meaning thereby that the reader should not suspect it to have come from a human author and consequently doubt its authoritative-ness or hesitate to believe in it. More direct references are also found in the work leading to the conclusion that this human author could be no other person than our Rāmānanda. They consist in the mention of the [*Rāma*-] *Tāraka-māntra*,⁶⁹ nine-fold devotion as a means to

⁶⁴ I. i. 1 and 2.

⁶⁵ I. i. 6 ff.

⁶⁶ I. i. 3—5.

⁶⁷ VI. xvi. 49.

⁶⁸ I. i. 52; IV. iv. 40; VII. v. 59, 62; also I. i. 54; IV. iii. 31—33, 35—36; etc.

⁶⁹ III. ix. 50—52; VI. xv. 62; VI. xvi. 49, etc.

*Premā-bhakti*⁷⁰ causing liberation, *Śālagrāma*,⁷¹ *Agastya-saṁhitā*,⁷² typical *Gurubhakti*,⁷³ etc., together with the covert references to Rāghavānanda and Rāmānanda. In one place⁷⁴ it is said that Maheśvara at the instance of Rāghava made the present episode (*i.e.*, composed the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*). Here, by a paronomastic use, the word *Rāghava* is intended to primarily denote Rāma and secondarily suggest Rāghavānanda Svāmin; and similarly, Maheśvara, Rāma's devotee *par excellence*, disseminating Rāma's name at Kāśī,⁷⁵ is Śiva as well as our Rāmānanda. 'Rāmānanda' = Rama + 'ānanda' (or even 'Ra' + 'mā' + 'ānanda' or 'nanda'), as the constant burthen of the poem and more or less something like a *nom-de-plume*, appears throughout the work. The word in its unbroken form is used once only,⁷⁶ but as broken in parts it occurs about 80 times at least, sometimes in one and the same verse⁷⁷ and sometimes in the different verses.⁷⁸ Such a strange phenomenon could not be accidental; inasmuch as the use of the word 'ānanda' in close juxtaposition with *Rāma* is not met with in any other similar work on such a

⁷⁰ III. x. 22—30, etc.

⁷¹ *M.-sarga*, v. 54; IV. iv. 14—17, etc.

⁷² IV. iv. 29, 31; etc.

⁷³ IV. iv. 16.

⁷⁴ VII. ix. 70.

⁷⁵ III. ix. 50—52; VI. xv. 62.

⁷⁶ VI. xii. 22.

⁷⁷ I. i. 17, 32, 43; v. 44; vii. 57; II. i. 32; iii. 1, 80; iv. 87; vi. 47; viii. 37; ix. 68; V. iii. 37; VI. v. 86; xiii. 17, 24, 25, 26, 28; xiv. 64, 66; VII. i. 2; ii. 1; v. 43, 60; vii. 82; viii. 2; ix. 45, 48, 53.

⁷⁸ *Māhātmya-sarga*, vv. 20-21; I. i. 5-6, 23-24, 31—33; ii. 4—7, 15—21; iii. 29—35, 54—58, 58—61; vi. 42-43; II. v. 59-60, 64-65, vi. 45—47; vii. 94—106; ix. 3-4; III. iv. 35—40; viii. 18-19, 20—22; VI. i. 75—79—83; iii. 31—36; V. i. 1-2; iv. 19—23, 20—24; VI. i. 50-51; v. 85-86; x. 40—42, 58-59; xi. 48-49; xiii. 16-17, 27—30, 28—31; xiv. 55—59; xv. 2—5, 27-28, 68-69; xvi. 17-18, 27-28, 29-30; VII. iii. 3—9, 26—28; iv. 34-35; vii. 54-55; ix. 58—68; etc.; etc.

lavish scale, notwithstanding the word Rāma, which, in a work of the present category, is, of course, expected to occur very frequently.

Tulasīdāsa, the morning star of the Rāmānandī sect, has made a free use of the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* in his *Rāmacarita-mānasa*. The contacts between these two works are too well known and too numerous to note down in short compass of the present paper that has already grown rather lengthy. Besides them certain passages in the latter work also prove his indebtedness to and yet his partial departure from and indifference towards the peculiar message of this most important work of the *parama-guru* of his sect. In the *Bāla-kāṇḍa*, Tulasīdāsa says, “Śiva composed this charming *Rāma-carita* and afterwards kindly described it to Umā Lastly, I heard the same *Kathā* from my own preceptor at *Śūkara-kṣetra* (i.e., Soron, Dist. Etah, U. P.); but, owing to my exceedingly unawakened nature typical of early age, I could hardly follow it. The *Kathā* (story) of Rāma, whose exponents as well as audience were always receptacles of knowledge, was too deep for me, an ignorant soul, to understand. When my preceptor told me the same repeatedly, I could pick it up but partly or imperfectly. I will write the same in popular language, so that it may awaken my mind. In proportion to my own approach, I will, led at heart by the Lord, describe that *Kathā* which is the boat to sail on the river of transmigration (or world) and which is calculated to remove my doubt, delusion and misconception.”⁷⁹

⁷⁹ शम्भु कीन्ह यह चरित सुहावा । बहुरि कृपा करि उमहि सुनावा ॥ (cf. footnote 58)

मैं पुनि निज गुरु सन सुनी, कथा सुसुकर-खेत ।

समुझी नहि तस बालपन, तब अति रहेउ अचेत ॥

श्रोता वक्ता ज्ञाननिधि, कथा राम की गूढ़ ।

किमि सुसुझौ मैं जीव जड़, कलिमल अस्सित बिमूढ़ ॥

यदपि कही गुरु वारहि वारा । समुझि परी कछु मति अनुसास ॥

Now, there is no Sanskrit work which can claim to answer this description better than the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāma-kathā* also forming the subject of some sections of certain *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* besides the *Vālmīkiya Rāmāyaṇa*. Again, in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*, in course of the dialogue between *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* and *Garuḍa*, Tulasīdāsa has expressed his own^{79a} and perhaps to a great extent his sect's feeling that the *Saguṇa-bhakti-pakṣa*, being easier to practise and surer in yielding the desired fruit, though very rarely understood, is superior to the *Nirguṇa-bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa*, which he does not denounce or reject but admits to be most difficult for an aspirant to follow.⁸⁰ Rāmānanda, as is

भाषाबद्ध करव मैं सोई । मोरे मन प्रबोध जेहि होई ॥

जस कछु बुधि विवेक बल मोरे । तस कहिहउ हिय हरि के प्रेरे ॥

निज सन्देह मोह भ्रम हरनी । करउ कथा भव-सरिता-तरनी ॥

(cf. *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* to *Garuḍa*, in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa*:—

गयउ मोर सन्देह.....; मोहि भयउ अति मोह.....;

निर्गुन रूप सुलभ अति, सरगुन जानै कोय ।

सुगम अगम नाना चरित, मुनि मुनि-मन भ्रम होय ॥.....

जेहि विधि मोह भयउ प्रभु मोहीं.....; and *Rāma* to *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi*:—

मायासम्भव सकल भ्रम, अब नहि व्यापहि तोहि ॥)

See also—रामचरितमानस मुनिभावन । विरचेउ शम्भु सुहावन पावन ॥.....

रचि महेश निज मानस राखा । पाय सुसमय शिवा सन भाखा ॥

ताते राम-चरित-मानस वर । धरेउ नाम हिय हेरि हषि हर ॥

कहउ कथा सोइ सुखद सुहाई । सादर सुनहु सुजन मन लाई ॥

^{79a} Mark the underlined portions of footnotes 79 and 80.

⁸⁰ *Kāka-Bhuṣuṇḍi* says to *Garuḍa*—

प्रथम जन्म के चरित अब.....;.....चरमदेह द्विजकर मैं पाई ।.....

जेहि पूछउ सो मुनि अस कहई । ईश्वर सर्वभूतमय अहई ॥

निर्गुणमत नहि मोहि सुहाई । सगुण-ब्रह्म-रति उर अधिकाई ॥.....

मुनि लोमश.....लागे करन ब्रह्म उपदेशा । अज अद्वैत अगुण हृदयेशा ॥.....

सो तैं तोहि ताहि नहि भेदा । वारि-वीचि-श्व गावहि वेदा ॥

विविध भाति मोहि मुनि समुझावा । निर्गुण मत मम हृदय न आवा ॥.....

पुनि मैं कहैउ नाय पद सीसा । सगुण उपासन कहहु सुनीसा ॥.....

भरि लोचन विलोकि अवधेसा । तब मुनिहउ निर्गुण उपदेशा ॥

पुनि मुनि कह हरिकथा अनूपा । खण्डि सगुण मत अगुण निरूपा ॥.....

decisively proved by Dr. P. D. Barthwal and as may also be inferred from the *Adhyātmarāmāyana*, preached both the *Saguna* and *Nirguna* paths, and perhaps the two were inter-related in an ascending order in his scheme. We know that Kabīra and some of his other followers upheld the *Nirguna-pakṣa* only to the total rejection of the *Saguna* one; while the majority represented by Tulasī-dāsa in particular and the present Rāmānandī sect in general have held a view of the matter diametrically opposed to that of Kabīra and others, with this difference

पुनि पुनि सगुणपक्ष मैं रोपा । तब मुनि बोले वचन सकोपा ॥.....
 अतिविरमय पुनि पुनि पछितारै । सादर मुनि मोहि लोन्ह बुलाई ॥
 मम परितोष विविध विधि कीन्हा । हर्षित राममन्त्र मोहि दीन्हा ॥.....
 मुनि मोहि कछुक काल तहं राखा । रामचरितमानस सब भाखा ॥
 सादर मोहि यह कथा सुनाई । पुनि बोले मुनि गिरा सुहाई ॥
 रामचरितसर गुप्त सुहावा । शम्भुप्रसाद तात-मैं पावा ॥... ..
 रामभक्ति जिनके उर नाहीं । कबहुं न तात कहिय तेहिं पाहीं ॥.....
 जे अस भक्ति जानि परिहरहीं । केवल ज्ञानहेतु श्रम करहीं ॥.....
 ते शठ महासिन्धु विनु तरनी । पैरि पार चाहत जड करनी ॥
 (cf. A.R., I. i. 10-11, etc.).....
 मुनि मुशुण्डि के वचन भवानी । बोलेउ गरुड हर्षि मृदु वानी ॥
 तब प्रसाद प्रभु मम उर माहीं । संशय शोक मोह भ्रम नाहीं ॥.....
 कहहि सन्त मुनि वेद पुराना । नहि कछु दुर्लभ ज्ञान समाना ॥
 सो मुनि तुमसन कहेउ गोसाईं । नहि आदरेउ भक्ति की नाई ॥
 ज्ञानहि भक्तिहि अन्तर केता । सादर बोलेउ काक सुजाना ॥
 ज्ञानहि भक्तिहि नहि कछु भेदा । उभय हरहि भवसम्भव खेदा ॥
 नाथ मुनीश कहहि कछु अन्तर ।.....
 ज्ञान विराग योग विज्ञाना । ये सब पुरुष..... ॥.....
 पुरुष त्यागि सकि नारि कह, जो विरक्त मतिधीर ।.....
 भक्तिहि सानुकूल रघुराया । तात तेहि डरपति अतिमाया ॥
 औरहु ज्ञान भक्ति कर, भेद सुनहु..... ॥.....
 ईश्वर अंश जीव अविनाशी ।..... ज्ञान कि पन्थ कृपाय कि धारा ।.....
 अति दुर्लभ कैवल्य परमपद । राम भजत सो मुक्ति गुसाईं ।
 अनश्छित्त आवै बरिआई ॥.....
 सेवक सेव्य भाव विनु, भव न तरिय उरगारि ।.....
 कहेउ ज्ञान सिद्धान्त बुझाई । सुनहु भक्तिमणि की प्रभुताई ॥.....

that Tulasīdāsa was partial to *Saguṇa* in preference to the *Nirguṇa* path but did not denounce the latter; whereas the Rāmānandīs in their sectarian fervour are practically opposed to the latter, in consequence of their pro-Vaiṣṇavite tendencies contracted from their age-long associations with other Vaiṣṇavas and especially with the most prominent sect of Rāmānuja among them. Rāmānanda represented a synthesis of the two paths; whereas either set of his followers to whom it appeared unnatural stuck to one in isolation from the other.

The word *dīnāra*⁸¹ occurring in the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* is sometimes pointed out as a proof of its belonging to an early age when *dīnāras* were in use. But it should be remembered that this word occurs also in the works of Kṣemendra, Kalhaṇa,^{81a} etc., belonging to the 11th, 12th and even later centuries. *Loka-prakāśa*,⁸²

From the indications in the *Rāma-carita-mānasa*, may we not conclude that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* was highly honoured in the Rāmānandī sect up to the times of Tulasīdāsa's preceptor who used to recite its *kathā* which Tulasī heard at Soron and that the latter, who was indebted to that so popular a Sanskrit work of his sect for much of his material, rather who based his work in the popular language mainly on it, was the first author who took courage in both hands to strike a discordant note against its emphasis on the path of knowledge, though balanced by an equal one on devotion as the accessory to the former, and who, possibly not only as an individual aspirant but also representing the feeling of the Vairāgī sect of his days, placed the path of *saguṇa-bhakti* on a higher level than that of the *nirguṇa-bhakti-jñāna-pakṣa*; and thereafter the sect as a whole turned averse to this nice work of the great Ācārya Rāmānanda, who perhaps in his later years did not emphasise it for those who were qualified only to follow the *saguṇa* path? One thing, however, is certain that like Rāmānanda's even Tulasīdāsa's conception of knowledge was in no way different from that of Śaṅkarācārya's Advaita Vedānta.

⁸¹ AR, I. vi. 76.

^{81a} See Stein: *Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, pp. 309, 313, etc.

⁸² Dr. A. Weber: *Indische Studien*, Achtzehnter Band i.e., Vol. XVIII, (Leipzig: 1898), pp. 289—397; for *dīnāra*, see pp. 339, 342, 358, etc.

though attributed to Kṣemendra, yet really a work having matters of even as late times as the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, *i.e.*, up to the times of Shahjahan, contains it. In all these and some Persian works of these times *dīnāra* denotes something like the *asharfī* or *mohur*, a gold coin of the Mohammedan times, just like *Yavana* originally denoting Indian Greeks but now generally used to mean a Mohammedan. It is, therefore, not strange if the 14th century author of the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa* also knows *dīnāra*.

Attention of the critical scholars may also be drawn to the fact that of all the MSS of this work deposited in the different libraries of India and other countries none appear to belong to a period anterior to Rāmānanda, while older MSS of other works are still available. Similarly, none of its commentaries⁸³ are old enough to disprove the contention that the work was written in the 14th century, some of them being very recent. Of these *Setu* by Rāmavarman of Śṛṅgaverapura (Singraur, Dist. Allahabad) was written about the beginning of the 18th century probably in collaboration with Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, the famous Mahārāṣṭra polymath and a versatile author of Benares.

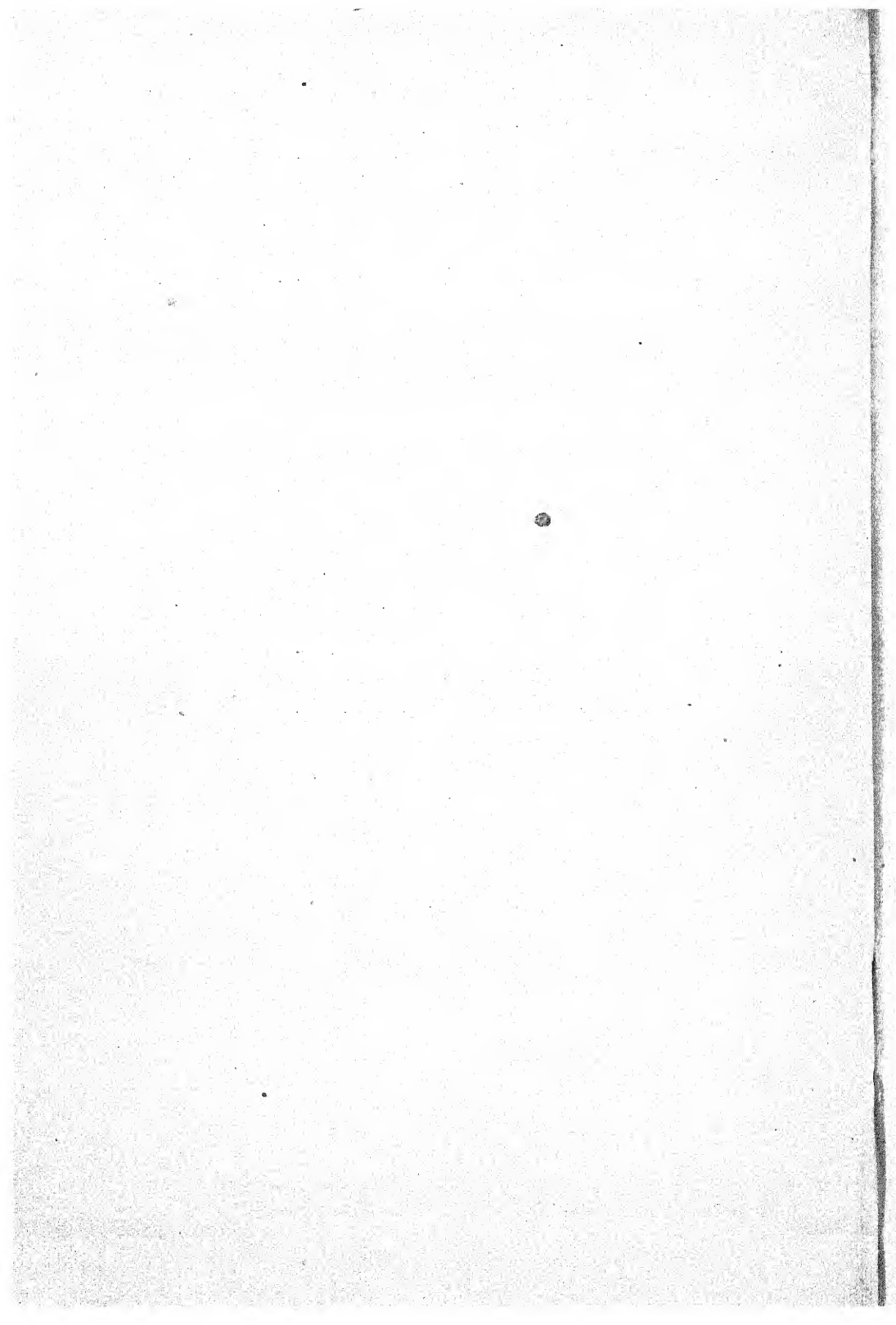
In fine, Rāmānanda (originally Rāmadatta or Rāmaśarman), son of Devala, a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa, was born at Prayāga in 1299 A.C. and went to Kāśī at the

⁸³ T. Aufrecht: *Catalogorus Catalogorum*, p. 11—Oppert II, 2584; by Gopāla Cakravartin, IO. 219; by Narottama, IO. 562; *Setu* by Rāmavarman (already published at Bombay and Calcutta); by Rāmānanda Tirtha, see L. 419; by Saṅkara, B. 2, 56; by Sadānanda, NW. 500; *Prakāśa* by Haribhāskara, Ptm. 2, 48; *AR-Rahasya* by Rādhākṛṣṇa, Rādh, 38;—see also p. 521—among 47 works compiled by Rāmānanda Tirtha or Yati called Tirtha-svāmin, *Guru* of Advaitānanda (Hall, p. 89)—*Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa-tiṭpanī*, *Adhyātma-bindu*, *Adhyātma-sāra* (Vedānta) mentioned L. 1017 under *Rāmakāvya*; *Rāma-tattvaprakāśa*, *Rāmāyaṇa-kūṭa-tīkā*, *Saṅkṣepādhyātma-sāra* L. 1022; and by Rāmānanda Svāmin *Tattva-saṅgraha-Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mukti-tattva*.

age of 12, and there, pursuing higher studies in the Advaita-Vedānta and practices in Śaivism and *Rāma-bhakti*, wrote the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa* as the best synthesis of his achievements in the domain of practical philosophy and religion and a nice specimen of a literary work, before he instituted his own sect which resulted in developing two parallel currents of *Bhakti*, the *Saguṇa* and *Nirguṇa* one, the germs of both having been deposited in this work.

It is a queer combination of facts that the *Adhyātmārāmāyaṇa*, its famous commentary by Rāmavarman-cum-Nāgeśabhaṭṭa and the present paper—all the three—should have been connected alike with the two most sacred places of pilgrimage and very great seats of ancient culture and learning, *viz.*, Prayāga and Kāśī, respectively regarding their authorship and publication.

विद्याभूषणविरुदो रघुवरशास्त्रीत्यतिष्ठिपत् सम्यक् ।
अध्यात्मरामचरिते श्रीरामानन्दकर्तृकताम् ॥



RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY: A REVIEW

By P. T. RAJU

I

What is Indian Philosophy? Like European Philosophy Indian Philosophy has a geographical differentia. It is all philosophy born in India. It comprises the Buddhist schools, the Jaina system, the orthodox Hindu schools and the Vedāntic systems, the pure indigenous Tamil, Canarese, and Telugu Śaivisms, some of which later became Vedāntic, the similarly developed local and Vedāntic Vaiṣṇavisms; and a number of other minor religious philosophies, which also may be divided into two classes, the pure and the Vedāntic, the Vedāntic in general being the later phases or developments of what were purely of local origin. But unlike European Philosophy, Indian Philosophy has the misfortune of being temporarily limited. It is, as it is till now understood, the philosophy born in India before the sixteenth century. Or we may say it is only the ancient and mediæval Indian philosophy. It does not seem to have been recognised that Indian Philosophy has a modern period, or that it can have one.

What is the reason? Human mind and behaviour, says McDougall, is hormic or purposive. Its activity is guided and coloured by purpose; when the purpose is realised activity ceases. This principle is fairly exemplified in our philosophical activity.

Max Müller lecturing in Oxford in the year 1882 asks : "Why then should it be that the race of bold explorers, who once rendered the name of Indian Civil Service illustrious over the whole world, has well-nigh become extinct, and that England, which offers the strongest incentives and the most brilliant opportunities for the study

of the ancient language, literature and the history of India, is no longer in the van of Sanskrit scholarship?"¹ To that question, the answer he commonly heard was that *The Laws of Manu* was translated and so also was *Śākuntalaṃ* and the *Bhagavadgītā*. What else does a civil servant need to know?

After the execution of Nanda Kumar* for forgery, Warren Hastings felt the need of governing the subject races according to their own laws; and an attempt was made to understand their beliefs and faiths, because as a sagacious policy the rulers proclaimed that they would not interfere with the religions of the ruled. The former found that the Hindus and the Muslims of the time were sensitive about their religious practices, and the government felt that, if it were to run smooth, it should respect them. Therefore some knowledge of both Hindu and Muslim law and of their faiths was found indispensable. Hence the English translation of the Indian law from the Persian by Halbead entitled the *Code of Gentoo Law*, and the inauguration of The Asiatic Society of Bengal in the year 1784. A little later Sanskrit philological studies were started by Sir Charles Wilkins, Sir William Jones and H. T. Colebrooke. But the chief interest was mainly centred in the study of Indian law and faiths and that too for the purpose of governing the Indians. That is why by the time Max Müller was lecturing in Oxford he found interest in Indological studies waning. The Indian Civil Service was not interested in knowing whether Indian literature, ethical, philosophical and religious, contained anything which was ethically, philosophically and religiously valuable by incorporating which their own ethics, philosophy and religion could be enriched. How strange would Max Müller's words have sounded when he

¹ *India: What can It Teach Us?*, p. ix.

said: "If I were to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered on the greatest problems of life, and has found the solution of some of them which will deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India. And if I were to ask myself from what literature, here in Europe, we who have been nurtured almost exclusively on the thoughts of Greeks and Romans, and of one Semitic race, the Jewish, may draw that corrective which is most wanted in order to make our inner life more perfect, more comprehensive, more universal, in fact more truly human, a life, not for this life only, but a transfigured and eternal life—again I should point to India."² Certainly Indological studies did not begin with these aims, and we shall not be wrong if we say that Indian philosophical research even at this day is not completely freed from the non-philosophical aim with which it started.

II

The motives that impelled the Westerners to study Indian Philosophy are varied. First, we have the interest of the governing classes to know the ideas of the governed, so as to least provoke them by disturbing their fundamental beliefs and conceptions and going against their customs. It is for this reason that Warren Hastings started the work of translating the Hindu law and The Asiatic Society of Bengal was inaugurated. But the aim of such work is not high. At a certain stage lack of interest sets in. However, when a certain type of work gets started, it generally goes on. Because of the vast amount of material that can

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

be presented to the West in its languages, the work will not come to a full stop. Meanwhile educated India has become identical with English-knowing India. In order to teach it what its country achieved in the past, presentation of Indian thought in English has become a necessity. And as Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are dead languages, translating them into English and living Indian languages will have to continue. But such work will inevitably bear the stamp 'antiquarian.'

In the second place, the Christian missionaries were interested in understanding Indian religions and philosophy, not in order to appreciate, but to criticise. Proselytisation was difficult without proving to the Indians that their religion was faulty and evil. This type of work began even from the later half of the seventeenth century. Abraham Roger, a Dutchman, wrote in 1681 *Open Door to Hidden Heathendom*. Bernier in 1671 and Tabernier in 1677 both wrote on the social customs of the Indians. As early as 1656 *L' Ezour Vedam* was found written with the express intention of criticising Hinduism for obtaining more converts. This type of work which is avowedly sectarian and biased cannot have much philosophical value. Its main purpose is to pick out faults and to be blind to merits and so to lose the spirit. Its authors may have generally good theological training, but not the philosophical in the pure sense of the term. So even if they want to, they cannot appreciate the real worth of the philosophical side of Hindu religion. Such work makes much of non-essentials and often shows deplorable ignorance of essentials.

But even the work of missionaries has made progress from intentional misunderstanding and misinterpretation through detached and objective study towards sympathetic appreciation. Several intermediate stages and mixed motives can be found. As late as 1914 St. Hilaire writes:

"This work may possibly possess another advantage, for I regret to say that it is to a certain degree opportune. For some time past the doctrines which form the basis of Buddhism have found favour amongst us, a favour of which they are most unworthy."³ Evidently the author is afraid that Buddhism would displace Christianity. The tendency of all Christian writers, from the philosopher to the theologian, is to find in Christianity a synthesis of all that is best in all religions. Neither Hegel nor Pflüderer is free from this bias. Works like those of Farquhar and Macnicol we may possibly place in the second category. But of late some Christians have discovered that they have really nothing new to preach to the Hindu in religion, and that on the other hand there is something worthy which they may themselves borrow from Hinduism. The growth of some Christian sects which, except for their belief in Christ, observe most of Hindu religious practices, is an example to the point. Sadhu Sunder Singh is a Hindu in every respect except for his Christianity.⁴ C. F. Andrews did not care to convert. Pratt in his *Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhistic Pilgrimage, India and its Faiths*, and *Adventures in Philosophy and Religion*, makes an honest appreciatory approach to Indian religion and thought. He believes in a true synthesis of the Socratic tradition and the preachings of Jesus and Buddha. The rationalism and the scientific spirit of the West is Socratic legacy, love of neighbours and the world the Christian, and self-abnegation the Buddhist. A true unity of the three is the high task and heavy responsibility of the religion and the philosophy of the day. On the other hand, Rev. McKenzie finds very little of ethical worth in our philosophy and religion. To quote Hopkins, who is really appreciative, "Prof. McKenzie finds the ethics of India

³ *Buddha and His Religion*, p. 15.

⁴ See C. F. Andrews: *Sadhu Sunder Singh*, p. 248.

defective, illogical and antisocial, lacking any philosophical foundation, nullified by abhorrent ideas of ascetism and ritual, and altogether inferior to the 'higher spirituality' of Europe. He will not deny that the Hindus favour some virtues, such as liberality and hospitality, and he is careful to point out that an altruistic motive in exercising these virtues may not be entirely absent; but he reminds his readers that they are of savage origin; when properly interpreted they reveal themselves as based on selfishness and magical superstition, so that, historically considered, they would appear to be surviving vices rather than honest virtues, at least among Hindus."⁵ Examples can be multiplied, but it would be enough if we note the aims and achievements of such work.

The third type of work is that of the archæologist and the anthropologist. The contribution made by this work to Indian philosophy is not very much and is mostly limited to the understanding of some primitive religious beliefs and customs. The excavations at Mohenjodaro reveal some primitive Śiva cult. Similarly, the anthropologists place before us the religious beliefs and customs of the Todas, Nāgas, etc., which certainly can help understanding the growth of our present-day religion. Frazer's *Golden Bough* is full of such information. Excavations of sites at Amaravati, Nalanda and other Buddhist centres furnish us with information about the spread and growth of Buddhism. Such societies outside India, as in the East Indies, Combodia and many other Asiatic countries reveal to us the greatness and importance of Buddhism as a world religion, and have done wonderful work in that direction. And it is the work of these societies that prompts the building up of theories like Pre-Upaniṣadic Sāṅkhya, Proto-Sāṅkhya and so forth.

⁵ *Ethics of India*, Preface.

A fourth kind of interest in Indian Philosophy is the philological, which has given rise to the philological interpretations of philosophical systems. This tendency is present in many a Western orientalist, who generally makes a historical or genetic approach to the subject. Though now and then there are excursions into the philosophical systems by such scholars, this work is mostly confined to Vedic research. Though their attempts are followed by very little success in the case of the systems, in understanding the Vedas they have been most useful. It is not unusual with the Pandits of India also to dwell on the etymological meanings of words and include grammatical controversies in their philosophical discussions. But the Western orientalist goes farther and brings in aid philology, semantics and comparative mythology. There is no doubt that so far as the work is confined to the Vedas, it would be highly useful. The discovery of Sanskrit in India revealed the kinship of the Indo-Germanic languages and this study led to the development of comparative mythology and comparative philology, the underlying idea being that all must have had some common origin. Sanskrit being the oldest form preserved, much light, it is reasonably thought, can be thrown on the Vedic ideas by a study of the languages and the myths of the other people. But as we shall see below, when this type of study is made of the systems, nothing but confusion and misunderstanding will result. Even in the etymological understanding of concepts we have to distinguish two kinds: first, to fix the significance of the concept philosophically and support it through etymology and, second, to give the etymological meaning of the word at first and fix the significance of the concept accordingly. The second is a hindrance to a true understanding of philosophical systems.

Then fifthly, there are people who are mystic in temperament and who overwhelmed by the mystery of the

universe and unable to unravel it with the help of Western thought feel that oriental wisdom contains a key to it. The Theosophical Society, for instance, has done valuable service to Indian philosophical studies by getting a large number of important works edited and translated. Mrs. Annie Besant's translation of the *Bhagavadgītā* is still one of the most popular. Two other names, those of Justice Woodroffe and Aurore Avalon, should also be mentioned in this connection. They showed great courage in expounding Tāntric literature and Śākta philosophy to the educated public, even to educated India, which looked upon both as closely associated with contemptible superstitions and practices. In all these people there is in general a groping of the mystic after the mysterious; there lies their interest and hence the great service they have done to Indian Philosophy. Does not even McTaggart say that philosophy must necessarily end in mysticism!

None of the above five motives that prompted the occidentals to study Indian Philosophy is philosophical in the sense that the study is made with the manifest purpose of knowing how best to improve their rational understanding of the universe. We may however say that the last approaches the criterion. Yet the motive is rather religious than philosophical, and their study has so far contributed little to the growth of either Indian thought or the European. Mr. Krishnamurti seems to be striking at new ideas, but he systematically inveighs against all systems. One or two attempts have been made to discover a system in his systematic invective, but any development therefrom must await the future. Moreover, it is difficult to say that his ideas are a result of a study of Indian Philosophy or the European or the outcome of the study of Indian thought by the Theosophists.

[To be continued.]

GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YAŚASTILAKA CAMPŪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

[The historical interest of the work—Somadeva's wide contacts—His works—Logician and Poet—Master of vocabulary—His *Y. T. Campū*—the sources of information—Notices of the work—Errors in the *Kāvya-māla Text*—Two commentaries—Śrīdeva's earlier commentary and the BORI Ms of the same—Śrutasāgara's gloss based on Śrīdeva's—the *Sāmagrīs* of poetry—*Vakrokti* and *Svabhāvokti*—*Ratirahasya*—Paripuṅkha name of Buddha's father—*Trikamata*—Types of towns, cities, etc.—schools of grammar—Raṅgavallī—Different countries Aśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, etc.—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa title—Nāṭya-śāstra—*Patracchedya* one of the 64 Arts—Authorities on several branches of learning—Paṇi name of Pāṇini's father—Raivata on horses—*Bhogāvalī* a court-panegyric—Allusion to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa title—suffix—Authorities on elephant-lore, Rājaputra (Budha), etc.—Māgha the poet—Reference to 'Asamasāhasa'—Sattri-putras a class of spies—*Māma* meaning uncle—*Traidan-dīka-Śaivas*—*Ṣaṭprajñas* and the semantics of the word—Kauṭalya and Viśālākṣa—Reference to six poets and scholars—Description of armies of Tamils, Bengalis, etc.—Authorities on Arthaśāstra; some rare names here—Topical epitome of Polity—Topical epitome of Nāṭya and Alaṅkāra śāstras—Reference to *Darśanakāras*—Elephant-authorities—*Vaidya*-authorities—Mechanical appliances in the bathing park—Akālaḥalada the poet—Allusion to Cedi-Rāṣṭrakūṭa marriages—Musical instruments—*Mahānavamī* and *Dipotsava* festival—Practice of Archery—custom of *Drṣṭiparihāra*—A Lady-doorkeeper proficient

in all languages—Mechanical fan—Quotation from Vātsyāyana—Allusion to Rāṣṭrakūṭa title-suffix—Some Proverbs—Quotations from Lokāyata—Bad practices in some countries—Some idioms—Quotations from Vararuci (Bharṭṭhari), Manu, *M. Bhārata*—from Bhāradvāja's *Arthaśāstra*—from Viśālākṣa's *Arthaśāstra*—*Praśnottararatnamālikā* imitated—A sample of anti-Jain declamation—Śruti and Smṛti quoted—References to Jainism in Brahmanical books—Prajāpati's *Citrakarman* and *Ādityamata* two *Śilpa* works—17 poets referred to; five of them unknown—Kāvya chapter of Bharata's Nāṭya—śāstra—Objectionable Brāhmaṇa practices—*Piṣṭapaśuṃyāga* and its antiquity—some legends, Vararuci, Dāṇḍakya Bhoja, etc.—Instances of dangers to kings from women, found also in his *Nītivākyāmṛta*—*Samīkṣā* or Sāṅkhyā—*Raghuvamśa*—Metrics, Veda, *Gāyatrī*—Kālidāsa—*Syādvāda*—*M. Bhārata*—probable echo of *Mukundamālā*—Nine sections of polity—Lokāyata of Brhaspati—Mīmāṃsā—Buddhistic *Tripitakas* and *Yogācāras*—*kucumāra-vidyā*—*Citrakāvya*—Nāṭya—Pāṇḍya coin—*Pūrṇa*—*Kumbha* a good omen—*Samavasaraṇa*—MS copying—*Manmathapūjā*—cock-fight—*Kharāpata śāstra* or theft—summary of Sāṅkhyā, Śaiva, Bauddha and Cārvāka schools—Quotations from Kumārila's *Śloka-vārttika* and *Hastāmalaṅkāra*—Śaiva quotations—*Avadhūta* a Śaiva quoted—*Mahimnasstava* quoted—Bharṭṭhari's *Nītiśataka* quoted—*Raghuvamśa* used—Summary of philosophical schools—Siddhāntika Vaiśeṣikas, Tārkikavaiśeṣikas, Pāsupatas, Kaulas, Sāṅkhyas, *Daśabalasiṣyas* (Bauddhas), Mīmāṃsakas, Cārvākas, Vedāntins, Śākya, again, Kāṇādas (Naiyāyikas), Buddhists again, Kāpilas (Pātañjalas), Brāhmādvaitins—Patañjali quoted—*Svapnādhyāya* quoted—criticism of all these schools—Reference to Śāṅkara as having followed the Buddhistic viewpoint—Patañjali—Śaiva criticised—Vaiśeṣika quoted—Legend of Śiva

revealing Vaiśeṣika to Kaṇāda in owl-form at Benares—criticism of other schools and exposition of Jainism.]

Somadevasūri wrote his *Yaśastilaka Campū* in A.D. 959, when Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III was staying in Melpāṭi,¹ after defeating and killing the Cola prince Rājāditya, son of Parāntaka, in A.D. 949, in the battle of Takkolam in which Kṛṣṇa was aided by his brother-in-law and ally, Bhīrtuga. The immediate patrons of Somadeva were the Lemulavāḍa Cālukyas, feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Arikesarin II, his son Vadyaga and his son Arikesarin III; there is an inscription of the last mentioned Lemulavāḍa chief Arikesarin III, dated A.D. 966, in which Somadevasūri is mentioned.²

At the end of the *Yaśastilaka Campū*, Somadeva describes himself as a pupil of the Devasaṅgha, but in the Parbhanī inscription, he is referred to the Gauḍasaṅgha; and on the basis of this and the reference in a commentary on Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmrta*³ to his having written that work on Polity for King Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, and supported also by allusions in the *Yaśastilaka Campū* leaving out Somadeva's acquaintance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their allies and near relatives, the Cedis, I suggested in an article⁴ on Somadeva that the poet had contacts in Gauḍadeśa and with the court of the Pratīhāras, the Cedis, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Lemulavāḍa Cālukya feudatories of the last.

These wide contacts and his vast erudition make Somadeva's works valuable. According to the colophon in his

¹ See *Yaśastilaka Campū*, *Kāvya-mālā* 70, 2 Vols., end of Vol. II, p. 419.

² See *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala Journal*, XIII. 3; pp. 85—92, Nathuram Premi's Hindi Book 'Jaina Sāhitya aur Itihāsa'; and my article on Somadevasūri in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 67—69.

³ *Māṇikyacandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā*, 21.

⁴ See *New Indian Antiquary*, *ibid.*

Nītivākyāmṛta, Somadeva wrote 96 *Prakaraṇas*, a *Yukti-cintāmaṇisūtra*, a work called *Mahendra-mātali—Sañjalpa*, besides the *Yaśastilaka Campū* and the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. The Parbhani inscription adds to his works a *Syādvādo-paniṣad* and numerous *Subhāṣitas*. In the 17th introductory verse in his *Y. T. Campū*, he refers to his being a logician and a poet.

आजन्म समभ्यस्ताच्छुद्धात्कर्त्तृणादिव ममास्याः ।

मत्तिसुरभेरभवदियं सूक्तिपयः सुकृतिनां पुण्यैः ॥

Of his works, this voluminous *Y. T. Campū* of his, published in two volumes as No. 70 in the *Kāvya-mālā* is a vast storehouse of information and contains references to numberless things of interest made both in a straight and veiled manner. In a verse at the end of the *Campū*, Somadeva calls his work an *Abhidhāna-nidhāna* (pt. II, p. 418), and in its description of the daily life of a king with which a substantial portion of the former part is taken, the *Campū* is an epitome of every subject which normally comes under the scheme of a royal thesaurus like the *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* of Someśvara of Kalyan. There is a good deal here to supplement the author's main work on *Arthaśāstra*, the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. A complete analysis of the contents of the *Campū* with Notes is a major piece of work on which I am not embarking. In this paper, I am jotting down with my Notes only such of the points of interest as arrested my attention on a running perusal of the *Campū*.

The *Y. T. Campū* is noticed by Peterson in his *Second Report*, 1884, pp. 33—49 and 147—156; this notice comprises a summary of the work, some gleanings and extracts.⁵ The *Kāvya-mālā* print of the work of 1901 is very defective, and especially in the commentary

⁵ In the enthusiasm of his discovery, Peterson gives rather exaggerated praise to the work (p. 33).

of Śrutasāgara printed in the above publication up to a part of the fifth chapter, the errors are too numerous. Śrutasāgara had before him the commentary *Pañjikā* of one Śrīdeva, whom Śrutasāgara completely uses, and whom he refers to in two places :

- (a) Pt. I, p. 237. पञ्जिकाकारेषु (.कारस्तु) श्रीदेवाचार्यः
कविशब्देन बृहस्पतिमाह ।
(b) Pt. I, p. 462 'भद्रश्रियं चन्दनम्' इति पञ्जिका भारो (—कारः)
जिनदेवः (श्रीदेवः) ।

This Śrīdeva's commentary on the *Y. T. Campū* is available in a manuscript in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and through the courtesy of Curator P. K. Gode, I was able to use the *Pañjikā* for this article. Śrīdeva's commentary, BORI 547 of 1884—86, is a very brief gloss; the manuscript, as it contains 34 sheets, and might have had a few more sheets. At the end of the *Y. T. Campū*, an *Upajāti* gives an indication of the subjects that have gone into the work :

वर्णः पदं वाक्यविधिः समासो लिंगं क्रिया कारकमन्यतन्त्रम् ।
छन्दो रसो रीतिरलङ्कार्यो लोकस्थितिश्चात्र चतुर्दश स्युः ॥

Pt. II, p. 419.

Śrīdeva gives a more detailed list of the branches of knowledge appearing in the pages of the *Y. T. Campū* :

छन्दःशब्दनिघंट्वलङ्कृतिकलासिद्धान्तसामुद्रक-
ज्योतिर्वैद्यकवेदवादभरतानङ्गद्विपस्वान्न-
तर्काख्यानकमन्त्रनीतिशकुनक्षमाष्टपुराणस्मृति-
श्रेयोऽध्यात्मजगत्स्थितिप्रवचनी व्युत्पत्तिरत्रोच्यते ॥

Bori Ms., p. 1a.

And on all these topics, Śrīdeva considers himself qualified to explain and remarks that he and Somadeva himself are the two who could clear the doubts in this work.

अहं वा काव्यकर्ता वा तौ द्वावेवेश्वराविह । *ibid.*

A comparison of Śrutasāgara's commentary with Śrīdeva's

shows that the former has utilised the latter completely.⁶ Part I, p. 6, Śloka 20 : लोको युक्तिः कलाः छन्दः अलंकाराः समयागमाः ।

The line mentions the 'Sāmāgrī's of poetry and can be compared with *Bhāmaha*, I. 9 :

शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्थाः इतिहासाश्रयाः कथाः ।

लोको युक्तिः कलाश्चेति मन्तव्याः काव्यगैरमी ॥

and *Vāmana* I. 3. 1—3 :

लोको विद्या प्रकीर्णं च काव्याङ्गानि ॥१॥ शब्दस्मृत्यभिधानकोशछन्दोविचित्त-
कलाकामशास्त्रदण्डनीतिपूर्वा विद्याः ॥२॥

P. 8, śl. 27 refers to *Vakrokti* and *Svabhāvokti* and the desirability of employing both.

न चैकान्तेन वक्रोक्तिः स्वभावाख्यानमेव वा ।

बुधानां प्रीतये किन्तु द्वयं कान्ताजनेष्विव ॥

P. 25. चरणनखसंपादितरतिरहस्यरत्नदीपविरचनैः । There is probably an allusion here by *śleṣa* to Kokkoka's work, *Ratirahasya*, and an old commentary on it called *Ratna-dīpa*. On this probability and its bearing on the date of the *Ratirahasya*, see my Note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*,

P. 41. पारिपुङ्ख इवानात्मनीनवृत्तिः । According to both Śrīdeva and Śrutasāgara, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha; according to the latter, Pāripuṅkha is Buddha's father.

P. 43. त्रिकमतदीक्षितस्येव । A reference to the Anuttara Pratyabhijñā Śaiva school of Kashmir. त्रिकमतः त्र्यम्बकसमयः त्रीणि कानि ईश्वरानि यस्येति व्युत्पत्तेः—Śrīdeva.

P. 88. पुरस्थानीयद्रोणमुखकार्वटिकसंग्रहनिगमग्रामविश्वंभराः— refers to different kinds of places like town, city and so on. *Pura* seems to denote a capital and fort-city : Śrīdeva says : पुरं परिखावप्रप्रतोलीप्राकारादिसमन्वितम् राजाधिष्ठितं च । *Sthānīya* is the centre of a circle of 800 villages; *Dronamukha*

⁶ The two citations from Śrīdeva given by Śrutasāgara, noted above, occur on pp. 7b and 13b of the BORI MS of Śrīdeva's commentary.

is the headquarters of a group of 400 villages; *Kārvatika* comprises 200 villages; *Saṅgraha* has only 10 villages under it; Śrīdeva's explanations are those taken from Kauṭalya himself who says in II. i. 19:

अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयम्, चतुःशतग्राम्या दोणमुखम्, द्विशतग्राम्या कार्वटिकम्, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणम् स्थापयेत् ।

Dr. Shama Śāstrī quotes in the footnotes here from the Jain works, *Rajapraśnāyavyākhyāna* and *Praśnavyākaraṇasūtravyākaraṇa*. According to these authorities, *Droṇamukhas* are places to be approached only through boats.

Kauṭalya refers again to *Droṇamukha* and *Sthānīya* in connection with laying roads. See also III. 10. 61. *Saṅgraha*, *Droṇamukha* and *Sthānīya* are mentioned also in III. 1. 58.

Nigama, Śrīdeva says, comprises a lakh of villages :
नगमः लक्षग्रामः ।

P. 90. A reference to schools of grammar—कैशिकैद्
ऐन्द्र-जैनेन्द्र-चान्द्र-आपिशल—पाणिनीयाद्यनेकव्याकरणोपदिश्यमान etc.

P. 91. नीतिशास्त्रैरिव प्रकाशितशमयोगतीर्थोद्योगैः । The *Tīrthas* of Arthaśāstra mentioned here are the 18 offices of the State, *Mantrin*, *Senāpati*, etc. Another reference to these *Tīrthas* occurs on p. 216.

P. 133. पर्यन्तपादपैः संपादितकुसुमोपहारः प्रदत्तरङ्गावलिः (रङ्गवल्लिः)
इव गुहापरियरेषु—is a reference to the temporary floral designs drawn with white and coloured powder by our womenfolk, for decorating the floor, and called *Raṅgavallī*, *Raṅgolī*, *Alpanā* or *Kolam* (Tamil). According to the Sanskrit Texts on Painting, this is called *Kṣaṇika-Citra* and is classified into *Dhūli-Citra* (with dry powder) and *Rasa-Citra* (with coloured solution). See my article on Sanskrit Texts on Painting, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, pp. 905-6.

Three other references to this *Raṅgavallī* on the floor are to be found on pp. 350, 369 and Pt. II, p. 24.

(a) अकालक्षेपं दक्षस्व रङ्गवल्लिप्रदानेषु । P. 350.

(b) अनल्पकपूर्णपरागपरिकल्पितरङ्गावलिविधानम्—[A] description of the courthall, where the white *Karpūra* dust is used for these drawings. P. 369.

(c) चरणनखस्फुटितेन रङ्गवल्लीमणीन् इव असहमानया । A reference to such designs worked permanently by fixing colour-ed stones on the floor, in the queen's apartments.

For a fourth reference, see Pt. II, p. 247—रङ्गवल्लीषु परभागकल्पनम्— which speaks of devising a ground which would set off the design.

P. 188, verse 187 refers to the countries Aśmantaka, Pallava, Cola, Pāṇḍya and Ve(ce)rama kings. On p. 189, Somadeva mentions Kerala, Vaṅga, Cola, Pallava, Kuntala, Malaya, Vanavāsi, Karpāṭa, Kurujāṅgala and Kamboja.

The remarks of the commentator Śrutasaṅgāra on these place-names are interesting :

P. 188. हे अश्मन्तक सपादलक्षपर्वतनिवासिन् १।

हे पल्लव पञ्चद्रामिल ।

हे चोलेश । चोलदेशो दक्षिणापथे वर्तते । संगपुरपते (गङ्गापुरपते in a ms.) ।

हे पाण्ड्य सूक्ष्मवस्त्रोत्पत्तिनगराधीश । दक्षिणापथाश्रितः पाण्ड्य देशो वर्तते । पाण्ड्यो देशो द्विविधः, पाण्ड्यः अन्तरपाण्ड्यश्च ।

* * * *

P. 189. पल्लवरमणीनां पञ्चद्रामिलस्त्रीणाम् ।

वनवासियोषितां गिरिसोपानादिनगरस्त्रीणाम् ।

कर्णाटयुवतीनां विदरादिस्त्रीणाम् ।

On the name Pallava used as meaning the Tamils, see my Notes on Some Ancient South-Indian Political Geographical Terms in the *Annals of Oriental Research*,

^१ 'Sapādalakṣa' is found mentioned as the territory of the Cāhamāns of Śākambhārī. See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of N. I.*, Vol. II; pp. 937. 1067 (Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* refers to the king of Sapādalakṣa ruling from Śākambhārī). Dr. N. Venkatarāmanayya drew my attention to this.

University of Madras, Vol. V, Pt. 2. Who may be the five Tamil peoples in the expression '*Pañca drāmila*'? The expression occurs in the *Mīraj* plates of Jayasimha II, dated 1024 A.D., which refer to the Cola king, Rājendra Cola Gaṅgaikondān, as lord of the five Drāmila countries. (*Epi. Ind.* xii, p. 295. *Ind. Ant.* viii, p. 18.)⁸ The five Tamil countries intended here can only be the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya territories together with the Juṇḍira or Kāñcī maṇḍala which was the territory of the Pallavas, and Veṅgī country of the Telugus which came under Cola hegemony. That a Telugu territory was part of this Pañcadrāmila is also borne out by a passage in the Telugu work *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* which says that the *Pañcadraṇḍiḍa* included nine lakhs Telugus.

-tsānondan avali pañcadraṇḍiḍamula-
to navalakṣa teluṅgu.

Parvata prakaraṇa; p. 415, pt. 2, *Āndhra Granthamālā* 30. The Gaṅgāpura mentioned by Śrutasāgara as the Cola capital is the Gaṅgaikondacolapuram built by Rājendracola as a new capital to commemorate his Ganges expedition; in Somadeva's own time, however, Tanjore was the Cola capital. The gloss on Pāṇḍya shows that in Śrutasāgara's time, Madura was well known for its fine textiles; but the two Pāṇḍyas mentioned by him are obscure; we do not know if the territory of the Uccaṅgi Pāṇḍyas, who were patrons of Jainism, is kept in mind by Śrutasāgara⁹. Vaijayantī is the well-known capital of

⁸ This reference as well as the one in the *Paṇḍitārādhyacarita* which follows was given to me by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

⁹ Dr. N. Venkataramanayya points out that this might contain some allusion to the Pañca-Pāṇḍya found in Inscription (*Epi. Ind.*, V., p. 103) and Literature (Tamil. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *Colas*, II, p. 20). See also Dr. Venkataramanayya's *Early Muslim Expansion in S. I.*, pp. 45-6, where some Persian sources are noted as referring to the Pañca-Pāṇḍyas.

Banavāsi; Śrutasāgara's Girīśopāna is not identifiable. So also is his Vidara¹⁰ of Kārṇāṭa.

P. 196 : अहो धर्मावलोक महीपाल । Dharmāvaloka is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa royal title. On the significance of this and similar passages, see my article on Somedeva in the *New Indian Antiquary* mentioned previously. See also Part 2, p. 79, अहो धर्मावलोक ।

P. 202 : भावसङ्करः संसर्गविद्यासु. Both the commentators say that *Samsargavidyā* means Bharata, i.e., *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

P. 202 : शस्त्रसंपातः पत्रच्छेदेषु *Patraccheda* or *Patracchedya* is one of the sixty-four arts; it is the cutting of designs on leaves like *Pān* with scissors, and forms an endowment of the Nāgarakas who engage themselves in it while sitting in *Goṣṭhī* and chatting. The *Kāmasūtra* mentions it in I. 3. 16, list of *Kalās*, as *Viśeṣakacchedya*, and the commentator, Jayamaṅgalākāra, mentions the same *Kalā* as *Patracchedya*, and explains the word *Viśeṣaka* as referring to forehead-mark, *Tilaka*, cut on leaves like *Bhūrja*. (P. 33, Chowk. edn.). But references in the *Sūtras* of Vātsyāyana himself show us that this cutting on leaves of greater scope and use in love-affairs. In III. 4. 4, Vātsyāyana suggests that the lover may send to the Kanyā of his attention designs cut on leaves showing his attention and mind, designs such as a loving *par*, of swans, etc. पत्रच्छेद्यक्रियायां च स्वाभिप्रायरूचकं मिथुनमस्या दर्शयेत् । In the *Pāradārīka* again, V. 4. 38, these *Patracchedyas* of suggestive designs and forms are mentioned as aids in love-making. पत्रच्छेद्यानि नानाभिप्रायकृतीनि दर्शयेत् ॥ Dāmodara Gupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* contains three references to this *Patracchedya*.: Śl. 124—पत्रच्छेदविधाने । Śl. 74—पत्रच्छेदमजानन् जानन् वा कौशलं कलाविषये । प्रकटयति जनसमाजे विभ्राणः पत्रकर्तरीं सततम् ॥

[To be Continued.]

¹⁰ According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, Vidara may be the same as Bidare, a town in N. Kārṇāṭaka, mentioned in both Inscription and Literature, and where a family of Jain chiefs ruled.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE ANNALS OF THE
BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE
(1917—1942): Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar.
Pp. vii+684.

The present volume is the twenty-third volume of the "*Annals*." It has been issued as a Special Jubilee Number on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The volume deals with varieties of subjects and can be broadly classified under nine different heads—1. Veda and Avesta; 2. Epics and Purāṇas; 3. Classical and Modern Literature; 4. Philosophy and Religion; 5. History, Archæology, and Epigraphy etc.; 6. Linguistics; 7. Sociology; 8. Technical Sciences; and 9. Study of Manuscripts. In all there are 79 articles. Almost all the contributions are from the scholars who are regarded experts in their special branches of studies. Most of these contributions throw new light on the topics dealt with. The editor deserves our congratulations for having been able to bring out such an interesting number of the "*Annals*" on this auspicious occasion in the history of the Institute. We cannot forget to express our sense of gratitude to those scholars whose original contributions and enthusiastic co-operation alone are responsible for the success of this number.

TRIBES IN ANCIENT INDIA: By Dr. Bimala Churn Law,
M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. Bhandarkar Oriental
Series No. 4. Published by Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona. First edition, 1943. Pp.
xix+428.

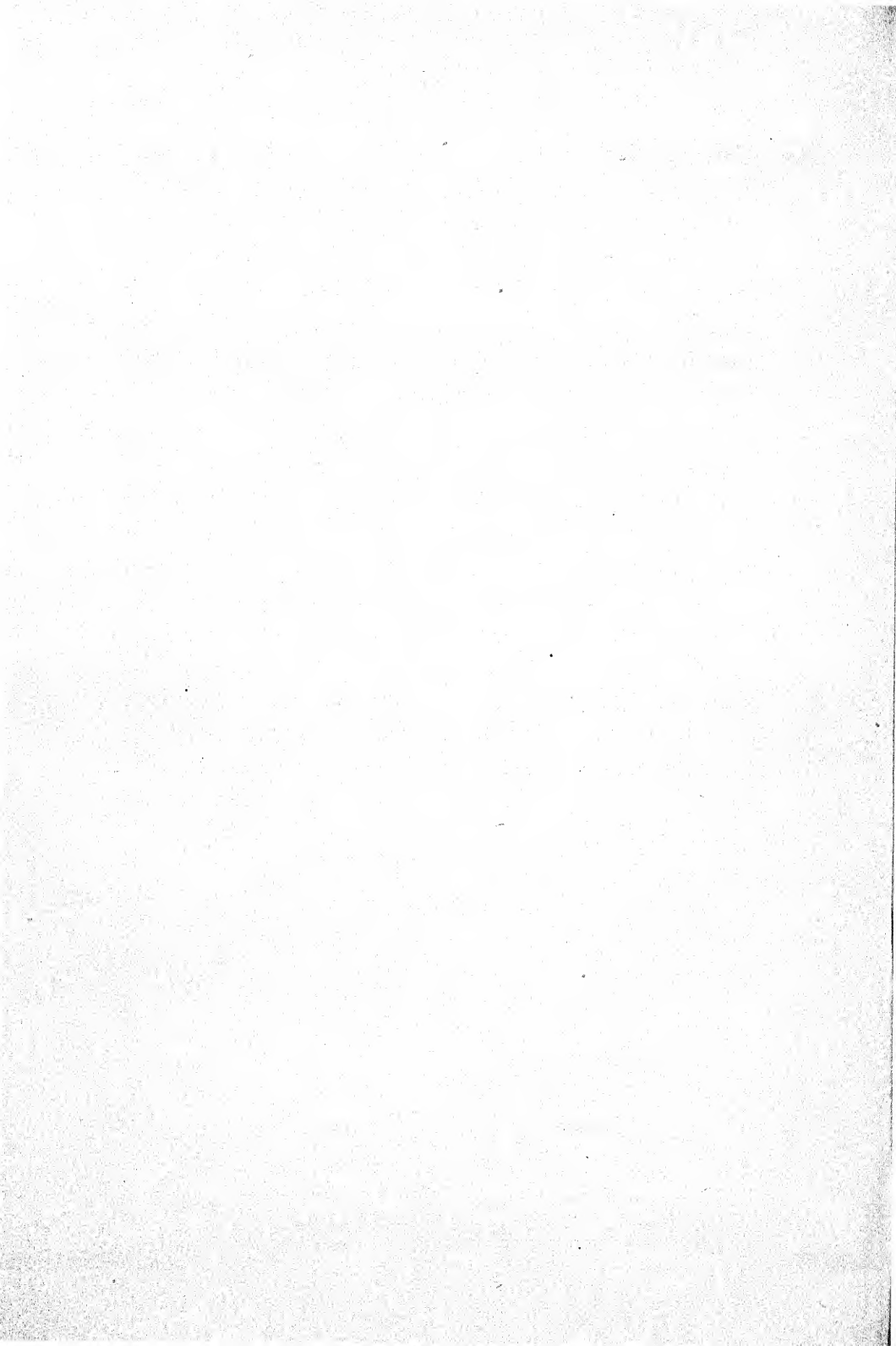
Dr. B. C. Law needs no introduction to the scholarly circle. His original contributions to the different branch-

es of Indology particularly Buddhism are too well known. The work under review deals with the tribes of Ancient India. Even before this, Dr. Law had written on the history of tribes, mainly of the Kṣattriya class. In the present work, however, the author has not confined himself to any particular class, but presents to the literary world a "comprehensive and systematic account of some tribes inhabiting different parts of India, who played an important part in the early history of India."

In 75 chapters the author has dealt with over one hundred and fifty small and big tribes of ancient India. For the exhaustive treatment of each, the author has ransacked all possible references found scattered in the vast literature of the country. He has utilised all the available sources—Brahmanic, Buddhist and Jainas and tried to present them in an interesting manner. Almost all his statements are fully documented which makes the work quite authentic as well. But sometimes though he has quoted authority for his statement, he has not tried to look into the reality. For instance, in Chapter XXVII, p.103, he says—"Nowadays, Benares extends four miles along the bank of the river, which here descends to the water with a steep brink. Down this brink are built flights of steps known as ghats, at the foot of which pilgrims bathe and dead bodies are burnt."—For the authority of this the author refers to the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p.14. But we know that this is not so. In fact, it is only in a lonely corner of the *Maṇikarnikā* and the *Kedāra* ghats that dead bodies are burnt and no person ever bathes there. However, the book is quite interesting and informative. There is ample matter here for the ancient period of Indian history. The author deserves our congratulation for this important contribution.

THE ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY OF THE GĪTĀ: By Professor P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Retired Principal and Professor of Philosophy, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras; Śrī Krishna Library Series No. 6; Śrī Krishna Library, Mylapore, Madras. 1943. Pp. vi+159. Price Rs. 2/-

Professor Srinivasachari is a well-known scholar of the Viśiṣṭādvaita school. His recent book on the philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita is an authoritative work. The author in the present work has treated the ethical viewpoint found in the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy. He has been very clear in his treatment and his outlook is never confused like so many other philosophers. He has examined the position of all the schools of philosophy to evaluate his own. Though he is primarily a philosopher of Western thought, yet he is free from all the prejudices which we generally find in most cases. The book is quite interesting and useful for those who want to study the ethical aspect of the *Gītā* according to Viśiṣṭādvaita.



Proceedings of the Inauguration of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute held on November 17, 1943

*The members of the Macdonnel University Hindu Boarding
House were at home to the guests. A very large gathering
of ladies and gentlemen was present. The*

*Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru,
P.C., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL D.,
D.C.L., presided.*

The proceedings opened with a prayer in Sanskrit,
followed by two Sanskrit poems composed for the occasion
by Pandit Jayakishora Jha and Pandit Laksmikanta
Diksita:—

॥ श्रीदुर्गामाधवगणेशाः पान्तु ॥

यत्कीर्तिचन्द्रधवलीकृत एव विश्वविद्यालयो लसति सम्प्रति काशिकायाम् ।

सम्राट् स्वयं वशमुपैति किमन्यदुक्त्या भक्त्या स मान्य इह सम्प्रति मालवीयः ॥१॥

खलखलुगयुतेन्दे वैक्रमे भव्यमासे सहसि बहुलपक्षे स्कन्दतिथ्यां बुधेहि ।

कुलपतिवरगङ्गानाथविद्यालयोऽयं प्रकटित इह हृष्येन्मालवीयेन्दुनाथ ॥२॥

शाके वाणषडष्टभूपरिमिते मार्गेऽहि चन्द्रात्मजे

पक्षे मेचक उग्रनन्दनतिथा आगत्य यः स्वादरात् ।

गङ्गानाथमहाशयस्मृतिकृते विद्यालयोद्घाटनम्

प्रेम्णा संरचयन् विराजतु महाचेताः स मे मालवी ॥३॥

जैमिनीये जैमिनिर्यः कापिले कपिलोऽपरः ।

स्मृतिवेदान्तकाणादशङ्करप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥४॥

सोऽयं स्वःस्थोऽपि सद्विद्यामन्दिरं प्रविलोकयन् ।

गङ्गानाथः कुलपतिर्माधिलः सम्प्रसीदतु ॥५॥

तेजबहादुरसमूभूषितपरिषज्जनाः प्रभासन्ते ।

कमलानां सङ्घा इव भास्करतेजःसमाच्छन्नाः ॥६॥

वाङ्महासलरकुलचन्द्रो जीव्याच्छरदः शतं प्रपूर्णशः ।

यन्महिमावरतीर्थे विद्वज्जनरङ्गको निवसाम् ॥७॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

भोपाह्वः श्रीजयकिशोरशर्मा

सौदामिनीविद्यालयाध्यक्षः

मङ्गलाचरणम्

गणपतिपरिवारं चारुकेयूरहारं गिरिधरवरसारं योगिनीचक्रचारम् ।
भवभयपरिहारं सर्वदा यत्नसारं गणपतिमभिवन्दे वक्रतुण्डावतारम् ॥१॥
वरदविशदहस्तं दक्षिणं यस्य हस्तं सद्यमभयदं तं चिन्तये चित्रसंस्थम् ।
शवलकुटिलशुण्डं चैकतुण्डं द्वितुण्डं गणपतिमभिवन्दे सर्वदा वक्रतुण्डम् ॥२॥

मुखे ते ताम्बूलं नयनयुगले कज्जलकला
ललाटे काश्मीरं विलसति गले मौक्तिकलता ।
स्फुरत्काञ्ची शाटी पृथुकटितटे हाटकमयी
भजामस्त्वां गौरीं नगपतिकिशोरीमविरतम् ॥३॥
अमलिने नलिने ननु भारति शशिसिते वसतिर्यदि ते प्रिया ।
तव पदस्मरणाद् विशदे सदा वस सतां सदये हृदये तदा ॥४॥

श्रद्धाञ्जलिः

निखिलपण्डितमण्डलमण्डितं निजगुणैर्विमलैः परिसम्भृतम् ।
कमलयामलया च विभूषितं 'मदनमोहन'मत्र उपास्महे ॥१॥
× × × ×
गहनदर्शनशास्त्रविमर्शनैः प्रवचनैः परमार्थसमर्थनैः ।
परमतत्त्वमतैश्च तत्तत्विषां विजयतां सुतरां विदुषां यशः ॥२॥
मतिमतां महितेषु च तेषु यः परमपुरुषसाम्यमुपेयिवान् ।
प्रचुरसंस्कृतशिष्यगणार्थिनं कमपि सूरिवरं तमुपास्महे ॥३॥
सदा गता खानि मुखेव यत्कथा रसप्रमां न प्रतनोत्यनल्पशः ।
सुराशिरूपो महसां महीयसां मतिं मदीयाममलीकरोत्वसौ ॥४॥
अपाठयद् यान् किल शिष्यतल्लज्जान् निसर्गधीरांश्च सताञ्च सम्मतान् ।
विकीर्यतेऽद्यापि न किं सदैव तैर्नवं नवं चास्तरं वरं यशः ॥५॥

तेने येन सुधावदातममलं गीर्वाणवाणीयशो
रेमे शास्त्रकलाकलापकलिते विद्वद्विवादे मुदा
ऊहे चासमकार्यजालजटिलः सर्वोभरः स्वस्थिते-
गङ्गानाथमहाशयः कुलपतिः स श्रद्धया बन्द्यते ॥६॥

अनुदिनमनवद्यामुन्नतिं यातु 'संस्था' प्रथयतु नवलेखैरङ्कितां पत्रिकाञ्च ।
प्रतिपलकमनीयैर्वन्दनीयैश्च कार्यैर्नयतु च नवमोदं पण्डितं कीर्तितिशेषम् ॥७॥
धन्यः 'प्रयागो' 'मिथिला'पि धन्या शिष्यास्तदीयाश्च सुताश्च धन्याः ।
बुधान्वितेयं परिषच्च धन्या धन्या वयं तद्गुणगानतश्च ॥८॥

Maulana Muhammad Ali Nami recited the following verses:

شراب عیش دنیا میں جو زہر مرگ ہے شامل
تو لطف چند روزہ اس سے ہو جاتا ہے سب زائل

نظر آتی ہیں تصویریں جو اس دنیا کی مکفل میں
جو چشم غرر سے دیکھا تو پائے نقش سب باطل

نہیں رنگ وفا ہوئے بقا ہرگز کسی گل میں
چمن کا پتہ پتہ بھی خزاں کی سمت ہے مائل

وہ تصویریں جو زیب مکفل مہرو محبت تھیں
اجل نے کردی اُن کے رخ پہ دیوار فنا حائل

کہاں وہ لوگ جو دنیا میں مشہور زمانہ تھے
ہیں انکے چند انسانے فقط قصے مکض ناول

چنانچہ مجمع اوصاف گنگا ناتھ جہا پندت
وہ یونیورسٹی کے فخر وائس چانسلر فاضل

اُنہیں آخر کیا ہم سے جدا چرخ ستمگر نے
سبھی کو ایک دن ہونا ہے اسکی تیغ سے گھائل

بنا دالی ہے اس میموریل کی یاد میں انکی
ملے عمر دوام اسکو خدا کا فضل ہو شامل

زمانہ میں الہی فیض اسکا ہر طرف پھیلے
تیری امداد سے آسان ہو جائے ہر ایک مشکل

دعا ہے تا ابد قائم رہے یہہ انسٹیٹیوٹ اُنکا
اور انکے نام نامی کو ہمیشہ یاد رکھے دل

The following poem by Dr. Ram Kumar Varma was read:

(१)

जिनकी मर्यादा में कुलपति का था अभिनव आदर्श ज्ञान ।
जो विद्या के सागर थे जिनकी गति में था दर्शन-विधान ॥
प्रतिभा का शशि प्रतिबिम्बित हो जिनमें शत शत अरविद बना ।
उनकी स्मृति से है आज हमारा हृदय हो रहा दीप्तिमान ॥

(२)

गंगा की पावन सुधा-धार उर शीतल करती है अपार ।
ऐसी प्रिय वाणी की तरंग जीवन में करती थी प्रसार ॥
जीवन के विषम विरोध जहाँ समता पाते थे निर्विकार ।
ऐसे श्री गंगानाथ साथ हैं अब भी जीवन में उदार ॥

(३)

वे व्रती तपस्वी थे क्षण क्षण में दिव्य साधना, दिव्य कांति !
जो ज्ञान-दिशाएं धुँधली थीं, उनमें न रही अणुमात्र भ्रांति ॥
वे ऐसे पुण्य प्रभाकर हैं, जो ज्ञानोदय में हैं महान ।
उनसे कितने शशि 'अमर' बने जिनमें मिलती है आज शांति ॥

(४)

उनकी पावन यश-ज्योत्स्ना में संस्कृति की शोभा है अपार ।
उनके आदर्शों में पाते हैं, हम जीवन का दिव्य द्वार ॥
उनके इंगित पथ पर चलकर हम, पा लेंगे ध्रुव सत्य सार ।
उनके चरणों पर आज प्रेम की श्रद्धांजलि है बारबार ॥

The following poem in Urdu composed by Capt. S. M. Zamin Ali was read:

دل اُمند آیا جو آئے یاد گنگا ناتھ جہا
 آنکھ بھر آئی جو اُنکا تذکرہ ہونے لگا
 جلسہ علمی میں کل کی بات ہے آئے تھے وہ
 شعلہ تقریر سے محفل کو گرماتے تھے وہ
 دوسروں کے موت پر ہوتے تھے کل تک اشکبار
 آج بستی ہے زمانے میں انہیں کی یادگار
 ہوئے اوجھل آنکھ سے ہیں اب دلوں میں وہ مکیں
 جتنے دل ہیں اتنی انکی یادگاریں بن چکیں
 ہاں مگر بنتی جو ہے یہ یادگار مرکزی
 ترجمان ہوگی ہر اک کے دلکی محسوسات کی
 زندہ انکا نام نامی رکھیگی مابین خلق
 فیض کے چشمے کو جاری رکھیگی مابین خلق
 ذات والا تھی سبق آموز طرز زندگی
 علم کی خدمت عین ساری عمر اپنی صرف کی
 مذہب و ملت کے جھگڑوں سے ہمیشہ تھے بری
 ان کے حق آگاہ دلیں اسکی گنجائش نہ تھی
 دلیں گھر ہر ایک کے کرتی تھی ان کی سادگی
 جس پہ ہوں آرائشیں قربان وہ سادہ روی
 عالم و فاضل ادیب نکتہ داں و فلسفی
 واقف جملہ علوم مغربی و مشرقی
 ذات سے ان کے تھی ایوان ادب میں روشنی
 جگمگا اُتھی قدم سے ان کے یونیورسٹی
 یوں تو ہر صیغہ پہ تھی انکی عنایت کی نظر
 اردو ہندی پر مگر تھی خاص الفت کی نظر

دونوں شعبے آپ ہی کے عہد زریں میں بنے
 آپ کی امداد سے یہ دونوں پڑھتے ہی رہے
 کم ہے جتنا بھی کرے فخر آپ پر ہندوستان
 اعلیٰ تعلیمات میں داخل ہوئی اردو زبان
 تھی تمنا یہ کہ کچھ دن اور زندہ رہتے آپ
 اس زبان کو آلۂ تعلیم بنوا دیتے آپ
 آنسوؤں کے چند موتی اور عقیدت کے یہ پھول
 نظر کو لایا ہے ضامن کیجئے اسکو قبول

The Secretary then presented his report and read out the following letter received from Sir S. Radhakrishnan:

My dear Dr. Umesha Mishra,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th. I am very sorry that it will not be possible for me to be present at your function and pay my tribute of great admiration for the character, personality and scholarship of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. He was one of the outstanding scholars of Sanskrit philosophy and literature in recent times. His translations of Sanskrit Philosophical Classics have been the source material for many doctorate dissertations. I am very glad to know that you wish to perpetuate the memory of this illustrious savant by opening an institute in his name. You have my very best wishes for the success of this function and the future of this Institute.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. S. Radhakrishnan

SECRETARY'S REPORT

Dr. Ganganatha Jha died on November 10, 1941. Shortly afterwards, his numerous pupils and admirers felt that his memory should be perpetuated in a fitting manner. Encouragement came through an offer made by the hon. Maharajadhiraj Sir Kameshwara Bahadur Singh of Darbhanga to donate Rs. 25,000 as a nucleus for a Memorial Fund. Owing to the abnormal conditions that prevailed a start could not be made before December, 1942. In that month an appeal for funds was issued under the signature of over fifty eminent scholars and public men, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the hon. Mr. Aney, the rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the rt. hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Dr. Bhagwan Das, Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Raja of Chettinad, Sir Ziauddin Ahmad, the hon. Sir Sita Ram, Sir T. Vijairaghavachariar, Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, Dr. Panna Lall, Dr. Kailashnath Katju, Pandit Iqbal Narain Gurtu, the hon. Dr. Hirdaynath Kunzru, Raja Jagannath Baksh Singh, Mr. Syed Abu Mohammad, M. M. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, M. M. P. V. Kane, Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Rao Raja Shyam Bihari Mishra, Dr. Brijendra Swarup, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Kunwar Gangananda Singh, Dr. N. P. Asthana, Mr. J. R. Gharpure. A local Executive Committee was formed with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as Chairman, Rai Bahadur Pandit Brajmohan Vyas as Treasurer, myself as Secretary, and Professor Amaranatha Jha, Dr. Tara Chand, Dr. A. S. Siddiqi, Rai Bahadur Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh, Prof. R. D. Ranade and Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya as members. This Committee has met frequently and has collected more than Rs. 65,000 already. The principal donors are Sir Padampat Singhanian, His Highness the Maharaja of

Tehri Garhwal, Mr. H. G. Misra, the Raja of Korea. Active steps are being taken to collect more funds and it is expected that $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs will be collected before many months.

It was felt that the most appropriate shape which the memorial could take was an Oriental Research Institute. A project for such an institute was sponsored by the Government of India in 1911 and was warmly welcomed by Dr. Jha who was a member of the Committee which met in Simla that year. Ultimately, however, the powers that be decided to establish a school of Oriental Studies in London. The Institute which is now being started at Allahabad will be a centre for research and publication primarily in the classics; it will have a collection of books and manuscripts; it will have stipends for research scholars; it will undertake the publication of original works, of translations, and of research papers. It will publish an Oriental Research Journal, the first issue of which has been issued to-day. It will foster the traditional scholarship of the land and also use the methods of modern scientific investigation. Such an Institute, we feel, is the best memorial that can be erected in honour of one who combined in himself the depth and soundness of the Pandit and the breadth of outlook and liberalism of the modern scholar. We hope to have an up-to-date library, principally of Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit, Persian, Arabic books; full sets of learned journals and manuscripts. We intend to have full-time salaried scholars and a number of research students. Dr. Jha's valuable library of books and manuscripts has been given by his sons to the Institute. Pandit Kubernath Sukul has gifted a valuable collection, consisting of a thousand manuscripts, including a hundred Persian manuscripts. Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta and Mr. Sambasadasiva Sastri have also presented some manuscripts. The authorities of the Hindu Boarding

House have generously offered to house the Institute until it has a building of its own. It is hoped that a centrally situated plot of land will be available for the construction of the Institute building. The actual building operations will of course have to be put off until normal economic conditions are restored. But it was felt that the opening of the Institute should not be further delayed. The Journal has been published to-day under the editorship of Professor Ranade, Dr. Siddiqi, and myself and contains contributions from the leading orientalist of the country. Material for the second issue is already in hand.

Sir Ganganatha Jha's own literary labours covered a very wide field. His works included literature, law, religion, and the various systems of philosophy. He had the highest regard for all forms of learning. It is our hope that those who work in for the Institute will be inspired by his ideals. The Committee is fortunate in having as its Chairman an eminent scholar whose intellectual integrity and scholarly attainments are universally respected. Under Dr. Sapru's inspiring leadership we are confident that the project will receive wide support. We are exceedingly grateful to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for his kindness in consenting to open the Institute, despite his poor health. He is honoured wherever learning and high character are honoured; he is honoured both for what he is and what he has achieved. He was for about 50 years a personal friend of Dr. Jha's; and the Institute could not have been started under better auspices.

With these words I place before you an account of what the Committee has done, the hopes that it entertains, the aims it seeks to achieve, and the ideals it cherishes. We hope that this Institute will add materially to the store of learning and will become a true centre of light.

The President then requested Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to perform the opening ceremony of the Institute, saying, "May I very respectfully ask you, Sir, to do it."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then delivered his inaugural address.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

I thank you for the honour that you have done me in asking me to come to open this Institute.

Dr. Ganganatha Jha was one of the most eminent scholars of his time. There were few persons in whom were combined in an equal measure both deep knowledge and modern learning and research. He was respected for his learning; he was respected even more for his purity of character and for his devotion to learning. It is in the fitness of things that at a place which was the scene of his activities for so many years he should be remembered by an Institute like the Research Institute which you propose to establish in his name. This is a most fitting memorial at a very suitable place.

To students Dr. Ganganatha Jha was always a source of inspiration for his devotion to learning, his scholarship, and his simple way of living for which he was noted. To the students of Sanskrit there cannot be a better ideal for inspiration than an Institute of this kind erected in memory of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. To scholars he will be a constant source of inspiration because throughout his long life he was a most devoted scholar. To students and teachers he was a source of constant help. For the general public one cannot think of any Institute better than this for the higher study of the classics. Dr. Ganganatha Jha will always be remembered for his depth of learning and for his contributions to Sanskrit studies and his researches.

As regards a memorial for Dr. Ganganatha Jha I cannot think of anything better than this Institute. We have not sufficiently appreciated the manuscripts that lie

buried in numerous places in the country. I can assure you from the little knowledge that I have about manuscript collections of some of important places that they are a source of great and useful knowledge to students of Sanskrit. Manuscripts might be regarded by material observers as not being useful, but that is a mistake. In the first place these manuscripts excite our imagination and admiration and in the second place they remind us of the days when the press did not exist and of the deep labour with which these manuscripts were written. It is a matter for wonder and admiration to see with what pains the scholars of the past carried out the work of writing these manuscripts. In many of the State libraries, for instance, in Bikaner, Travancore and other places we have a large number of books written by hand which have yet to be published.

There is need for more than one centre like the one you are proposing to erect here. I hope and pray that your efforts may be crowned with success and that you may be able really to build up an active centre of research for ancient Sanskrit learning and other oriental languages. Knowledge is universal and it ought to be popularised. We hope that this centre will be a means of creating such other centres.

I do not think that I should detain you any further. I am anxious to hear my most esteemed friend, the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. I thank you once more for having done me the honour of asking me to open this Institute. I declare the Institute open."

Then the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said:

"Panditji, ladies and gentlemen,

As President of the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Committee I desire to thank you all for having assembled this evening in such large numbers. I regard your presence

as an expression of approval of the step which my Committee has taken in this matter. But if there is one man in this crowd to whom our thanks are due more than to any other person, it is our revered leader, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, the living embodiment of lifelong service to the cause of learning, knowledge and education all over the country. (Applause.) I very well remember, more than forty years ago, as an obscure young man I attended the ceremony connected with the laying of the foundation of this hostel which is one of the many creations of Panditji. He could have hardly foreseen and yet he sees it to-day that this institution, this hostel, the foundation of which was laid more than forty years ago, will be the scene for the laying of the foundation of another institute intended to perpetuate the name of a great scholar and to strengthen the claim of classical education in our country. It must be a source of supreme pleasure and satisfaction to him. We are particularly indebted to him for having attended this function and blessed the inauguration of this Institute. Weighed down with years, in feeble health and yet possessing a heart burning with love for the country and with love of knowledge and learning, he has taken the trouble to come here and there could not be a better augury for the future of this Institute. To you, Sir, Allahabad, in particular, though you have deserted us in recent years, owes a debt which we will never be able to repay either in this generation or in succeeding generations. Young men whom I see in my presence here can scarcely realise the extent or the depth of the service of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to the cause of education in these Provinces. I, therefore, desire to thank you on behalf of the Committee, and may I add on my behalf, for having taken the trouble of coming to this function.

Now, I would like to pay a tribute, my own tribute, to the memory of that great scholar in whose honour we

have met this evening. It is rather ridiculous that an ignoramus like myself who cannot pretend to possess any knowledge of Sanskrit should have been called upon to preside over a function like this, and yet I honestly assure you that during the 30 or 40 years that I was privileged to know Pt. Ganganatha Jha there was scarcely a man in Allahabad whom I held in greater esteem than Pt. Ganganatha Jha. It added to my stature as an Indian when in 1935 I happened to be in Paris and was invited by Professor Sylvan Levy to a function very similar to that which we are holding to-day; and at Sorbonne University, Sylvan Levy surrounded by many other orientalists made very keen enquiries about Pt. Ganganatha Jha. I remember the very words which he used: 'That man is an ocean of learning,' he said. You can imagine how proud I must have felt as an Indian that I was a countryman and contemporary of a great scholar who had not left India, whose orthodoxy would not have permitted him to leave India, and yet whose reputation had travelled nearly 6,000 miles away from this country. He rendered signal service to the cause of education in these Provinces and to the Allahabad University, but there is one service which he rendered and of which I will remind you. He has left in my friend, Pt. Amaranatha Jha, a son worthy of his predecessor, who has maintained the traditions of his father in the University. Well if I am not guilty of a breach of confidence and if I do not anticipate the press, I may say that last night I was reading an address which he is going to deliver two or three days hence at some place in these Provinces, and as I read page after page, I was moved, and I said, "Here is a man imbued with the classical spirit." It is a very powerful plea which he is going to urge within the next few days for classical education and for greater emphasis on classical education. I speak with great respect in the presence of some Professors of Science

because I am as ignorant of Science as I am ignorant of Sanskrit, but I venture to think—I hope they will correct me—that much of the trouble of the present-day world is due to them. They can say it is not they who have created this trouble, but it is the abuse of their genius which has created the trouble. Whatever it may be, frankly speaking, while I do attach some value—and a great deal I must say frankly from a material point of view—to Scientists and Science, I confess I share with my friend, Dr. Amaranatha Jha, his weakness for the classics. For, young men, if you want to have ideals which would inspire you to a nobler life, which would move you to do service of the country and which would teach you how to live and how to die for those ideals, you will find them not in the pages of scientific books, but in the pages of classical books. I hope I shall not be castigated by my distinguished friends, the Professors of Science. But I confess that it is in the fitness of things that an Institute like this devoted to the study and development of classical languages like Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian should have been founded at this place to perpetuate the memory of one of the greatest classical scholars of our times in this country. I do hope and trust that young men in the University may spare some time from their pursuits for building up constitutions to spend just a little time in the archives of this Institute. They can then interpret in their own way the thoughts of their ancestors just on the lines on which Pt. Ganganatha Jha did in his own days and thus they can strengthen all those bonds which must unite one intellectual man with another.

I will not take more of your time. Our thanks are due to the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga, whose munificent gift gave us a start, and to Sir Padampat Singhanian, who made a very handsome gift and to other generous donors and I sincerely hope and trust that more funds will

be available to us so that we may actually start building operations and having finished the building, we may lodge our library and invite scholars to carry on the work of research in the traditions of Dr. Ganganatha Jha. I will say no more.

This was followed by the speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Bajpai, Munshi Ishwar Saran and Dr. Tara Chand:

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Uma Shankar Bajpai said:

"Revered Malaviya Ji, Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, ladies and gentlemen,

We have all assembled together to pay our homage to the memory of the great scholar, the late Sir Ganganatha Jha. I believe it will come as a surprise to you if I were to say that I am perhaps, if not his oldest, one of his oldest colleagues when he and I were on the staff of the Muir Central College. I remember him, as few men remember him; we were great friends and I consider it a great privilege that I have been called upon to say a few words on this occasion. It is a happy augury that Malaviyaji has opened this Institute. It is being housed in a borrowed building, but the borrowed building is perhaps the first child of our distinguished citizen. It is also in the fitness of things that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is the President of the Committee. As he has said, Pt. Ganganatha Jha has left works, many works, of abiding interest, works which ignorant people like myself cannot appreciate, but one work he has left which we can all appreciate; I mean the Vice-Chancellor. I will say no more. My heart is full. Sir Ganganatha Jha is dead. Long live the Ganganatha Jha Memorial Research Institute."

Munshi Ishwar Saran said :

“Friends, I also consider it a high privilege to be able to take part in the function this afternoon. It is a matter of sincere gratification and thankfulness that the Institute has been opened by a man whose life is a sermon on service and sacrifice and whose idealism is the inspiration of millions of his countrymen all over India. It is also in the fitness of things that a function in honour of a distinguished man should be presided over by another distinguished man who has risen to great heights not only in the profession which he adorns but in the public life of the country as well. To Malaviyaji Maharaj, the founder of the Hindu Boarding House, and to others connected with it it must be a matter of great satisfaction that this Institute is going to have its first home in this building. Long after, when the other building will be ready, it will be remembered that the first home of the Institute was the Hindu Boarding House. I do not think it is necessary to speak at any length about the service, the eminence, the scholarship and the distinction of Pt. Ganganatha Jha. Most of us here know it; we are happy and grateful that not long ago a man lived amongst us who helped us by his work, by his devotion, by his counsel and by his example. Friends, to me the life a man lives is far more important than his ability or scholarship. I can truthfully say that in these days of modernisation and blind imitation Pt. Ganganatha Jha's life had a unique charm about it. He was simple, dignified, courteous, urbane, scholarly and thoughtful. About his learning I am not in a position to say anything. If the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru does not know any Sanskrit, I know less and knowing nothing about Sanskrit I am afraid I cannot pronounce a panegyric on his learning or attainments. All that I heard was that he was a profound scholar, that he was a great thinker and that he tried to look at things from the

scientific point of view. Many of our Pandits are very learned indeed, but I say with great respect and with great regret that they lack the scientific approach to many problems. Panditji had the scientific approach and he was, therefore, able to present things in a way which was acceptable to people of modern times. I am afraid I shall be tiring you if I speak at length, but I wish to tell you that I am a bit of a day-dreamer. Day-dreaming is a malady and I must confess I have got it. When I see with the eye of faith and of hope, I see a noble pile of buildings, sufficient funds, a band of careful, trained and devoted scholars and researchers working in the Ganganatha Jha Institute. You may ask where are the funds, where is the pile of buildings which you see, where is the band of scholars? May I tell you that no difficulty daunts a man who is determined to see a thing done. If the organizers of the Institute and if we who are here and profess our sympathy with the scheme are in earnest as I hope we are, it should not be difficult to achieve what we have in view. If success comes, and it is bound to come provided we are honest and sincere in our efforts, then oriental learning will be able to hold its head high and will no longer remain at the doorsteps of modern learning waiting for the crumbs that might fall from its table. Oriental learning then will be able to make its contribution to the culture and progress of the world. When that is done, Pt. Ganganatha Jha's soul will rejoice. His soul will feel happy that the ideal that he had placed before himself in his life-time was being realised by a band of Hindu, Muslim, Christian men who were going to serve India and humanity through oriental learning."

Dr. Tara Chand said:

“Revered Malaviya Ji, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great privilege to be associated with the opening of Pt. Ganganatha Jha Memorial Institute. The opening of the Institute fulfils a long and keenly felt need of this great centre of learning in Allahabad. It provides a fitting memorial to the scholar, who by his learning stood pre-eminent among the Sanskritists of his age. The Institute, as I have said, fulfils a long-felt need. I can recall to my mind many important centres of learning where similar institutes exist. In Oxford there is the Indian Institute where Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian are pursued and researches are made. In London there is the Oriental School of Studies. In Paris there is L'Ecole de langues Oriente; in America there is an American Oriental Society and in other countries, Germany, Italy and Russia, there are Oriental Institutes where oriental learning is pursued. In our country unfortunately which is the home of Sanskrit learning, where Arabic and Persian have also flourished for a long time, there has not been an Institute of this type except in one or two places. There is the Bhandarkar Institute at Poona. But besides the Bhandarkar Institute, there is hardly any other Institute of the same kind in this great country. May I say that many such Institutes are needed in this country. It has already been said by previous speakers that there are in our country numerous manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian which require to be delved out and which require to be brought to the notice of the world. May I say also that the work of Sanskritists has not yet touched the fringe of this great ocean of learning which lies buried in the ancient libraries in the old cities of India? We have few critical standard editions of ancient Sanskrit works. The Bhandarkar Institute has been busy for the last 20 years

in editing the great work, namely, the *Mahābhārata*, the end of their labours is not yet in sight, but there are numerous other works as important or a little less important than the *Mahābhārata*, which require to be taken up by Institutes like this. If I may be pardoned for a little indication of what I have been doing, may I say that I was working on the translation in Persian of the Upaniṣads made by Darashikoh, in the middle of the seventeenth century. I compared the Persian texts word by word with the Sanskrit texts as published by the Bombay Press and by the Gita Press of Gorakhpur. I discovered that there were many differences between the Persian translation and the Bombay and the Gorakhpur editions of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and I feel that if that* was the condition of such a great work as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, what would be the state of the other books of ancient texts which are found in India to-day. Darashikoh had in the seventeenth century the Pandits of Benares to help him in translating manuscripts into Persian. If the texts then available differ from the texts that exist to-day, is it not the duty of the scholars to find out what the real changes are? The work of this description would require a large number of scholars to carry it on for many years. About *Bhagavad-Gītā* which is revered in India by everybody there are many differences of opinion in regard to its text and there are therefore a number of interpretations of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. It is necessary that such a great and important work as the *Bhagavad-Gītā* should be taken up and its text standardized. I need not weary you with other illustrations. I have said enough to prove that not one great Institute but many more Institutes of this kind will be necessary if the learned works of ancient India and mediæval India are to be taken up, edited and interpreted in the proper manner. I said it is befitting that this Institute should be associated with the name of Mahama-

hopadhyaya Sir Ganganatha Jha. All those who have read something of his work know that he was among the most eminent scholars of the world, a man of very wide and deep learning. There is hardly any branch of Sanskrit learning on which he did not work and on which he did not write something. From Alaṅkāra Śāstra to Vedānta almost every department of Sanskrit learning was under his eyes. But I will not try here to analyse his works or even to place before you the names of the works that he has written. I will, however, say this that in three branches his scholarship and learning is of permanent value. In the first place he translated some of the most difficult of Sanskrit texts into English and brought them to the notice of the scholars of the world. I may say that there are not many Pandits in the country to-day who are capable of understanding and rendering those works into the English language. In the second place I may say that he was one of the greatest of Dharma Śāstra scholars in the country. His contribution to legalistic learning was very great indeed. He translated *Manusmṛiti* and its commentaries and he has made a great mark in this field and greatly advanced the understanding and interpretation of the Smṛtis. But probably his most enduring work is on Mīmāṃsā and I think I can say without fear of contradiction that he was regarded as the greatest Mīmāṃsā scholar not only in India but all over the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken a great deal of your time, but I feel proud that I have been asked to associate myself with the opening of this Institute."

After Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh of Anapur and Professor A. P. Dube proposed a vote thanks. Babu Bhagwati Saran Singh spoke in Hindustani, while Prof. Dube in English :

Professor A. P. Dube proposing a vote of thanks said:

‘I think the great credit for to-day’s meeting goes to the students of the Hindu Hostel. When the Committee proposed to hold this meeting, they came to the conclusion that they must be ‘At Home’ on such a memorable occasion where Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya Ji was going to be present and where the Institute was going to have its temporary sojourn.

Among the many evils which you have mentioned about the scientists there is one evil which they have spread. A motor driver of to-day because he is able to drive a motor car thinks that he is more civilised than a chariot driver of Greece. The Master of Balliol, Professor Jowett, who was a great classical scholar, declared that an average Athenian was ten times more civilised than an average Londoner or an inhabitant of New York. This shows that the ancient learning which we are going to store in our Hindu Boarding House even temporarily has its value for us to-day, a value not only for us but for the whole world. Sir, I verily imagine that the whole mankind, eliminating some differences, is essentially one. Therefore, whatever has passed in the family of man in one quarter of the globe or in one epoch of the life of mankind is an affair from which all mankind in all ages may profit. These are instructive for us all.

In this connection, Sir, I may remind you that although the Law of Trust is entirely a peculiar institution of English Chancery, the like of which is not to be seen anywhere on the Continent of Europe, it has been bodily transferred to this country and is working well. We have adopted many of the laws of England after having cured them of technicalities and they are working very well in India. In face of this, Sir, it surprises me when people say that the parliamentary institutions of England are not suited to India. At such a statement angels will weep but

gods will laugh. If the scholars who are now going to work in this Institute succeed in fusing the ancient ideals which these records contain into future, I shall be able to say of my country what Emerson said of America,

“She in her native centre fast,
Can into future fuse the past,
And the world’s flowing fates,
In her own mould recast.”

I thank all the guests.”

After this the President requested those who were present to visit the Hall where the manuscripts and books were kept.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI MEMORIAL

AN APPEAL

The immense services of the late Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri to the cause of Sanskrit learning and education are very well known. He was a profound scholar in all the Sastras and a *litterateur* of rare excellence. He combined the depth of knowledge of the old style of learning with the width and critical outlook of the modern scholar in a remarkable measure. First as Principal of the Sanskrit Colleges in Mylapore and Trivadi, and then as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the Presidency College, Madras, he played for many years the most decisive part in the designing and the working of the courses of study in Sanskrit, and Indian languages in general, in the University of Madras. He started the Samskrita Academy in 1926 in collaboration with Sri V. V. Srinivasa Ayyangar and others, and the Journal of Oriental Research in 1927 with Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar as the President of the Executive Committee and himself as the Chief Editor; and as the Curator of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, he organised an intensive campaign of manuscript collection and got together what is to-day one of the finest collections in the world, of which the province is rightly proud to be the owner. During the thirty years of his work as Professor, he trained a number of eminent panditas and young men in the critical methods of the study of Sanskrit works, and brought into being a school of research the members of which are now carrying on research work in the several institutions in and outside Madras. He planned the revision and amplification of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit Manuscripts and was Chief Editor of this work for some years. His work as member of the various academic bodies in the Universities of India and in the University of Madras in particular, was always characterised by a thoroughness and high academic perfection which earned for him the deepest respect of his colleagues.

The Public meetings held in the city and elsewhere when the news of his passing away was reported last September and the speeches that were delivered by many scholars and publicists on those occasions gave clear proof of the high esteem in which his work was held and the love and affection his personal qualities evoked.

At the last All India Oriental Conference held at Benares (December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944), the President of the Conference, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, himself a great Sanskritist, made an eloquent appeal for starting a Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Madras on the model of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona, and the new Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad. Such an Institute would be a fitting

memorial to the great Professor and it could take under its protecting wings the Samskrita Academy and the Journal of Oriental Research that were so dear to the Professor during his lifetime, undertake the publication of the unpublished works of the Professor, and continue the useful work of Research started by him.

Liberal contributions are solicited towards the realisation of this project which would require a lakh of Rupees as a minimum, and they may be kindly sent to Sri Rao Bahadur K. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar, Advocate, 6 North Mada Street, Mylapore.

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[Part 3

NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF
THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS¹

By B. BHATTACHARYA

Slave mentality is nowhere more in evidence than in the field of Indian scholarship, especially among them who may be styled as the 'highbrows.' Anything that is promulgated by the Western scholars must be a revelation, and therefore correct, and all Indian traditions, however sound they may be, should be rejected as useless even without examination. We have made Western scholars our *Gurus*, and because they are of opinion that the Purāṇas are worthless as historical documents, we in India do not touch them, although some of the Purāṇas are capable of furnishing most remarkable facts of history in the most scientific manner possible thereby helping us to reconstruct our ancient history to the satisfaction of all, the sanskritist, the historian, the epigraphist, the numismatist and the palaeographer.

In the present paper, I propose to deal with one topic amongst scores, representing only a minute fraction of Purāṇic tradition, to show how the Purāṇas throw a

¹ A detailed paper on the subject is in preparation which will give extracts in original from the Purāṇas, and compare the Purāṇa evidence with that known already from inscription, coins and other sources. This paper represents the cream of the information obtained from the Purāṇas.

flood of light on the history of the Imperial Guptas. Any student of Indian history can compare the Gupta history as given in the text-books with the history as available in the Purāṇas, and judge for himself the utility of the latter.

The *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* from which we draw our material, as usual, contains a portion which gives the history of the kings of the Kali Era. In it interesting material appears, delineating the history of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, although it is not found in our authoritative history books. Thinking that the details as given in this Purāṇa may be of some use to our scholars, I incorporate them in the present article.

According to the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*, the Andhra king Candraśrī Śatakarṇī was ruling in Magadha (in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.) before the advent of the Guptas. At that time Candra Gupta son of Ghaṭotkaca Gupta and the grandson of Śrī Gupta the king of Śrīparvata in Nepal, married Kumāradevī the daughter of the king of Nepal. Through this alliance Candra Gupta gained influence in the Government of Candraśrī, and soon became the commander-in-chief and the head of a large army. Thereafter, Candra Gupta married a Licchavi princess who was the younger sister of the Queen of Candraśrī and thus became the ruling chief's brother-in-law. Later on, Candra Gupta was instigated by the Queen of Candraśrī to have her husband killed by a strategem. On the death of Candraśrī the Queen appointed Candra Gupta as the Regent of the young king Puloman, the son of Candraśrī, and passed seven years in that capacity. Thereafter, Candra Gupta killed the young king Puloman, and seized the kingdom from the Andhras. Then he ruled over the Magadha kingdom as an independent king with the help of Kaca his son by the Licchavi wife. Candra Gupta

ruled for seven years under the title of *Vijayāditya* and established an era in his own name. Candra Gupta's career was cut short by murder by his son Samudra Gupta born of the first wife Kumāradevī.

With regard to Samudra Gupta the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa* says that he was a *Cakravartī* king and was the *dauhitra* (grandson) of the king of Nepal. With the help of *Mleccha* soldiers he killed his treacherous father along with his sons and relatives, and brought pleasure to his suffering mother. Samudra Gupta became famous as *Aśokāditya* and performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice according to prescribed rules. He was worshipped by all kings, Indian and foreign, and was proficient in the *Śāstras*, *Sāhitya* and music, and was praised by poets. Samudra Gupta ruled for 51 years, and enjoyed the earth without a rival.

Samudra Gupta was followed by his son Candra Gupta II in the throne of Magadha. He was a lion among heroes, and drove away the Yavanas and the Hūṇas from the country. He became famous by his title of *Vikramāditya*, was surrounded by scholars and learned men and was an expert in *Śruti*, *Smṛti*, *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa* and *Kāvya*. Crossing over the seven Sindhus, he conquered the Bāhlikas, and erected pillars of fame up to the Saurāṣṭra country. Candra Gupta II ruled for 36 years and enjoyed the earth without a rival.

Kumāra Gupta, Candra Gupta's son born of Dhruvadevī, then became king. He destroyed his own enemies, just as God Kumāra destroyed the enemies of the gods, the Daityas. Kumāra Gupta performed a horse-sacrifice and became known by his second appellation of *Mahendrāditya*, and ruled over the earth for 42 years.

Skanda Gupta son of Kumāra Gupta then ruled over Magadha. He was like God Skanda, and by his prowess

the pride of the Hūṇas was melted and Puṣyasena was destroyed. Skanda Gupta became known as *Parākramāditya* and ruled over the whole earth for 25 years.

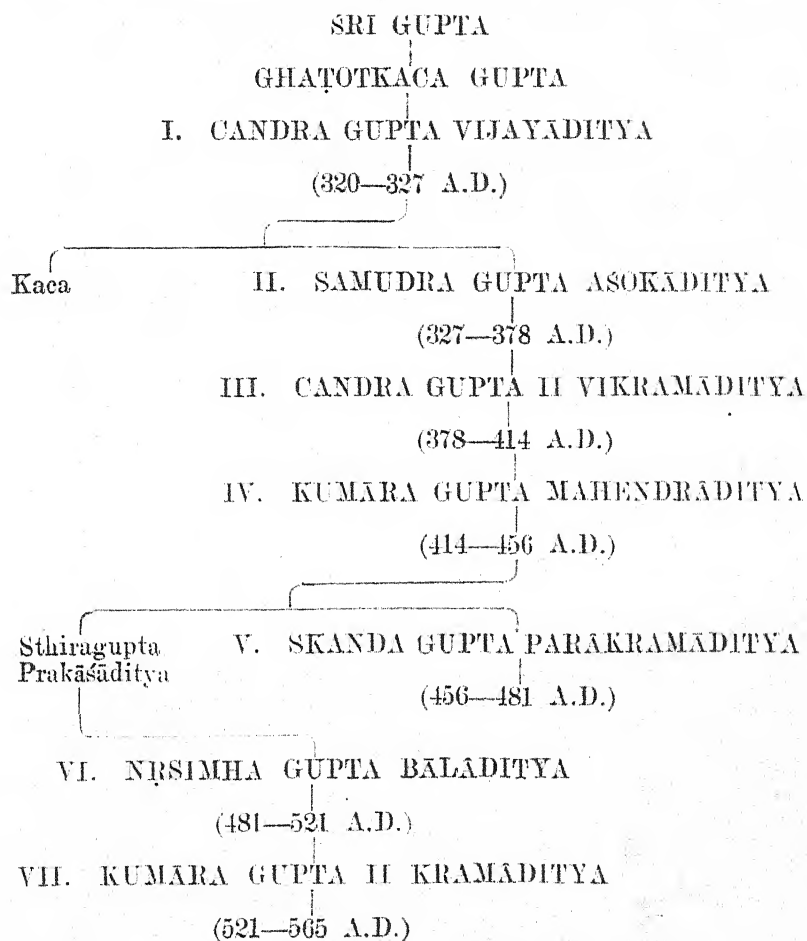
After him Nṛsimha Gupta son of Sthira Gupta Prakāśāditya became king. He was placed on the throne by his uncle Skanda Gupta. Nṛsimha became known by the appellation of *Bālāditya* and ruled with the help of his father for 24 years.

Kumāra Gupta II son of Nṛsimha Gupta then became king and became famous as *Kramāditya* by reason of his valiant fight with the Hūṇas. He conquered Īśānavarman, was served faithfully by Bhaṭṭārka, and ruled over the earth for 44 years.

The Imperial Gupta kings were seven in number, they were respected by their Sāmantas and were known as *Pārcatīya Āndhrabhṛtya* 'servants of the Andhra kings and belonging to the hill tribes'. All of them were *Cakravartī* kings and bore the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and others, and they collectively reigned for a total period of 245 years. The great kingdom of Magadha which was altogether shattered became stable when the kings of the Gupta family were ruling.

The above is summary account of the Imperial Guptas as preserved in the *Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa*. The Purāṇa story supplies flesh and blood to the skeleton history as constructed by modern scholars with the help of coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers, and has a utility of its own. The account furnishes us with many details hitherto unknown to the world of scholars, *e.g.*, the origin of the family, the intrigues by which they came to power, the assassination of Candragupta by his son Samudra Gupta, and similar events of great historical importance, besides supplying their correct reign periods which are absolutely in accord with data known from inscriptions, coins and other original material.

The genealogy of the Imperial Guptas is set forth in the table as under :—



THE ESOTERIC TEACHING IN NALOPĀKHYĀNA

OR

AKṢA-HRDAYA AND AŚVA-HRDAYA

By K. C. VARADACHARI

It was when I was perusing the *Nalopākhyāna* recently that I came across certain passages which gave me the cues into the understanding not indeed of the truth as such but what these figures of this great drama of life stood for. I do not consider that I shall not be considered to have read into the story much more than what are contained in it by way of suggestion or *dhvani*.

The story itself is a simple one. Nala, a fine knower of horses and their ways, a strong and imperious King, blessed with a perfect body was chosen in a *svayam-vara* by Damayantī, the daughter of Bhīma, one in all respects matched to him, who chose him in preference to the five Gods of Heaven. They, the gods, blessed Nala with their *siddhis* or occult powers. Thus lived Nala in happiness with his well-blessed wife, till due to some fault fate began to overtake him. He had a brother, Puṣkara, who was a knower of *Akṣa* or diceplay at least better than himself, though he was not any near perfection in other respects. Challenged by Puṣkara, Nala took to the play of dice and played and played on till he lost all his material possessions. But the charm and the maddening sense of defeat urged him on till he was utterly denuded of all his riches. Driven out of his own city, he with his faithful wife entered the forest. Hunger drove him to throw up his single cloth to catch two birds; they carried away that

¹ *Akṣmī-Udyā*: science of supernatural divination: *Yaj. Samhitā* IV. 6. 8: *caṅsur devānām ata martyānām*; cf. *Tiruvāymoli*: I. 8. 3 *Kannānenru*.—of. *Akṣyupaniṣad*: that deals with the Sun and Divine Eye and *Akṣamālīkōpaniṣad*.

cloth. Half the cloth of his wife he wrapped round himself and thus wrapped in one single cloth they two wandered. Overpowered with grief and unable to see the sorrow and pain that his beloved lady was going through, he tore his wife's cloth into two whilst she was asleep and abandoned her hoping that she would thus deserted somehow contrive to reach her parents. She thus deserted had to pass through terrible ordeals of a boa-constrictor, rape and elephant, which by the grace of fate she escaped unscathed. Finally she entered the service of a queen, who was as later it proved to be a relation of her own dear mother.

Nala in his turn wandering came across a serpent caught up in a centre of fire. He rescued the serpent from the fire (through the blessings of Agni), and was bitten by it afterwards which transformed him into a dwarf. This the serpent explained was not for destroying him nor even to repay kindness with misdeeds, but to help him. The poison would poison the poisoner, Kali and would never affect him. Next he asked him to go to R̥tu-parṇa, the King of Ayodhyā, who would on one occasion teach him *Akṣa-hṛdaya* in exchange for his *Aśva-hṛdaya*. On that date he would be freed from the deformed appearance that had resulted to him, and that he would be restored to his own original radiant form. He gave him also a garment on wearing which Nala would regain his native form. Thus the serpent blessed him with knowledge of his future liberation, the teacher who would teach him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya* which would make him conquer the *Akṣa*-game.

Nala repaired to R̥tu-parṇa as advised by his serpent-benefactor and stayed there as his horseman, charioteer and adviser for four years in *ajñāta-vāsa* : (XV. 20)

Bhīma, the father of Damayantī, meanwhile sent his emissaries about to discover the retreat of his

daughter and Nala. One such emissary discovered Damayantī and she was sent back by her Royal patron to her own place. Damayantī on reaching her home again sent emissaries about. One of them reported the behaviour of Nala who tried to extenuate the conduct of Nala in deserting his wife. This was the cue which finally decided her to send an urgent messenger to Ayodhyā-court to announce that the very next day there was to be a second *svayamvara* for Damayantī and that the King Rtu-parṇa may be pleased to attend it. Rtu-parṇa asked Nala to take him to Bhīma's court in Vidarbha so that he may be there in time. Nala agreed and selected the best horses, horses whose appearance to Rtu-parṇa belied their abilities. Rtu-parṇa accompanied by Vārṣneya (erstwhile charioteer of Nala himself) mounted the chariot which Nala drove with lightning speed. Rtu-parṇa admiring the admirable way of Nala's management of horses and his discrimination and efficiency, wished to show off his own greatness and therefore asked whether Nala would tell the number of leaves a tree that they left behind had. Nala could not as he did not know the science of Numbers. Rtu-parṇa told him the number of leaves and fruits. Nala despite the need for speed in going to Vidarbha, got down to count the number of leaves and found that Rtu-parṇa was right. Then Rtu-parṇa told him that he would teach him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya*, the science of Numbers and dice, which Nala knew is to be his saviour from Kali, evil-forces, in exchange for the *Aśva-hṛdaya*. Gladly accepting this offer Rtu-parṇa taught Nala the *Akṣa-hṛdaya* in exchange for the *Aśva-hṛdaya*. But though freed from the evil-force of Kali who was as it were vomitted out from him instantaneously, Nala continued to wear his dwarf-form.

They reached Vidarbha in time and from the roll and sound of the chariot Damayantī knew that Nala had come. But what she saw was a dwarf in every respect contrary

to the original form of her husband. Other exploits and activities shewed that indeed he was having all the *aṣṭa-siddhis* bestowed on him by the Gods. Then she prayed to him and he after learning that the so-called *svayamvara* was to be the reunion alone which she sought and that it was a ruse alone condescending wore the magic cloak given to him by the Serpent. No sooner than he wore it, he regained his princely demeanour and stature. Rūparṇa learning of this was glad and stayed for the reunion and left the next day.

After a month Nala went back to his city to challenge his brother to the self-same game of dice and in one throw defeated him utterly. But he spared his life and gave him lands and sent him away to his place. Thus Nala regained his sovereign-status.

The above in bare outlines is the story.

The esoteric position is that Nala is the perfect human being who has achieved perfect mastery of the *Aśvas* or the senses,² a knower of them so thoroughly that even the gods were regaled by his beauty.³ Damayantī was the gift of Damanaka the *ṛṣi* of controlled senses. Bhīma of supreme valour and power was her father. The perfect and self-controlled lady was thus wedded to a perfect knower of the Senses. Thus he was a yogin, an energetic vital soul self-controlled, mated to an equally self-controlled spouse of Yoga. On his wedding he received the presents from the gods of the *aṣṭa-siddhis*, the eight attainments :

Vṛte tu naiṣadhe bhaimyā lokapālā mahaujaśaḥ/

Prahṛṣṭamanasaḥ sarve nalāyāṣṭau varān daduḥ. // (V. 34)

These *siddhis* or powers granted by Yama, Agni,

² *Nala*. I. 1 *Upapanno guṇair iṣṭai rūpavān aśvakovidah.*
cf. *RV*. X. 44. 7; *Kaṭha. Up.* III. 9; *Svet. Up.* II. 9

³ *Ibid.* V. 34 Damayantī chose him as against the gods

Indra and Vāyu were great and invaluable indeed. They made Nala full of prosperity. But as the Yoga-śāstra later pointed out these *siddhis* are nothing, avail nothing including the *aśva-śāstra*-knowledge, if one does not possess the freedom from prakṛtic illusion, the knowledge of Self (*Akṣa-hṛdaya*). For when Nala was overtaken by the love of the dice-game infuriated by defeat—(read the entire chapter on the progress of this game)—all his eight powers, occult and excellent, could not help him to victory. The immortal is not won by mere Yoga of skill in horses or in powers consequent on it, over water or fire or air or other elements. Only the Eye-Divine, *divya-cakṣus*, granted through Grace of the Divine can help. This Eye-Divine, so far as it is confined to *this* narrative, takes the aspect of the mathematical power of enumeration in one single sweep the many in the One even when the Change is at its highest momentum. The Divine is the permanent in the Change, the One amongst the many, or rather the One that supports the many, and highest knowledge consists in perceiving this infinitude of diversity in the One Sweep of its Vision. This is the perfection of knowledge. Here we have expressed in the briefest compass the entire meaning of the Vision Omniscient that is to be the lot of all souls that are liberated. It is the power to know the number for in essence the height of knowledge is to know that all numbers, however vast, are finite to the intelligence, that is enumerable. Quantitative infinity is finite, wrote Rāmānuja : *Bhūyastvād-alpajñair-asankhyeyatve' pīśvarasya sarvajñasya sankhyayā eva*. (*Śrī Bhāṣya* II. i. 15). When the *Vēdānta Sūtras* following the Upaniṣads stated that the individual becomes verily like the *Brahman* except in respect of Cosmic functions and fundamental attributes of *śaḍguṇas*, the intimation means that the individual then will know the Saṅkhyā or quantitative infinity.

Akṣa in *Akṣa-hṛdaya* is the important word that suggests the *saṅkhyā*-knowledge. *Akṣa* means a measure, is dice itself, is an *indriya*, and in the dual neuter means as *akṣiṇī* the eyes specially. Philologically there are two roots which may form the bases for the derivation. *Akṣu*: *vyāptau* (*Mādhavīya-dhātu-vṛtti*) with 'in' *pratyaya* forms *akṣiṇ*: eye. The eye is so called because according to Indian psychology the eye (or rather the rays in the eye-organ) goes to the object and 'covers' it or pervades it. The Divine Knowledge is of the form of Vision that comprehends the three times and all spaces; *Akṣa-hṛdaya* will mean the perception of the Reality taken in all its manifoldness. It is in this sense that Rtu-parṇa (who had the wings of Truth, who was therefore a *suparṇa*) was able to perceive and enumerate the number of fruits and leaves in a tree whilst going at topspeed. Again when he says that it was that *Akṣa-hṛdaya* which also gives him mastery in dice, it is plausible to argue that he was fully capable of perceiving which is probable at every throw. It is skill in inference and mathematical working out of the exact probability due to the capacity to enumerate and decide and draw the conclusion with lightning rapidity that makes for mastery of Chance. The game of Chance rightly has been dubbed *akṣa*. To the ignorant it is a disastrous game, unholy, to the knower it is *akṣaya*⁴ undecaying and unperishing causal knowledge. There is another root *as*: *vyāptau* which with *saran-pratyaya* forms *Akṣara*: the imperishable or more rightly the omnipervasive. This term denotes the Supreme Being, the *Jīva* as also *Prakṛti* as students of Vedānta will be aware. Men may be interested in the *Akṣa* only at the peril of

⁴ Cf. Kṛṣṇa was playing *Akṣa* with Rukminī at the time of Draupadī's hour of peril and throws the dice with the words '*Akṣaya*.' This story is discounted by late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

material possessions;—so is it with the *akṣara*. If one will not go to the desert in search of it the desert will indeed go on such a one. The love of Spirit (*akṣapriya*) is the quality of the Fate that moves men away from material possessions: it was the first quality enumerated of Nala, as it was of that saintly one Yudhiṣṭhira: mastery of senses both had, but only love for the *Akṣara* or *Akṣa*. It was R̥tu-parṇa the king of the Unconquerable City, Ayodhyā, the one having the Wings of Truth, who was the master of the science of numbers and of the dice and *īṅgitajña*, Nala was the practical soul seeking verification of R̥tu-parṇa's knowledge never one prepared to take another's word. His words read magnificently the scientific mind:

Parokṣamivā me rājan kathyase śatrukarṣaṇa/

Pratyakṣametat kartāsmi . . . (XX. 12)

Having found that the enumeration made by R̥tu-parṇa was correct he sought the knowledge of the Sāṅkhyā. But R̥tu-parṇa answered that because he knows the science of dice he knows the science of Numbers:

*Viddhyakṣaḥṛdayajñam mām saṅkhyāne ca viśā-
radam/ (ibid. 26)*

Nala having offered to teach him his science of *Aśva*, R̥tu-parṇa taught him the *Akṣa-hṛdaya*—

*Yathoktam tvam gṛhāṇedam akṣāṇām hṛdayam
param/*

*Nikṣepo me' aśvaḥṛdayam tvayi tiṣṭhati bāhuka//
(ibid. 29)*

Thus both R̥tu-parṇa the knower of *Akṣa* became also the knower of the *Aśva*, the knower of Thought and counting became also the yogin skilled in sense-driving, whilst Nala the profound master of the horse became

now open-looking with his knowledge eyes open to the Infinite. Nothing thereafter was beyond him. He had become a perfect being.

Akṣa-hṛdaya thus is Sāṅkhya, whereas *Aśva-hṛdaya* is Yoga. Yoga is skill in action, in driving the senses, a practical man seeking actual verification, perception-dependent being. The *Akṣa* knower is one who knows the invisible, the imponderable, the manifestations and discriminates and enumerates accurately. Time or *Kāla* and Change cannot torture one who has achieved the *Kuṇḍalinīśakti*, but it is knowledge of Sāṅkhya and *Akṣa*-divine seeing in one sense that releases and liberates the soul (*nara-nala*?) from the bondage to *Kali*. Yoga may cause it distress when it is sanctified by Serpent Grace—*Kuṇḍalinī*—but it is Sāṅkhya that makes distress impossible.

*Sāṅkhyayogau prthagbālāḥ pravradanti na paṇḍitāḥ/
Ekamapyāsthitaḥ samyagubhayorvindate phalam//*
B.G. V. 4

*Yatsāṅkhyaiḥ prāpyate sthānam tadyogairapi
gamyate/
Ekam sāṅkhyam ca yogam ca yāḥ paśyati sa paśyati//*
Ibid. V. 5.

The first point that is to be seen here is that Sāṅkhya and Yoga are identical in their results and that the results of both are identical. But the next verse points out that Renunciation is difficult to attain without Yoga (that is, control of the senses).

Sāṅkhya is, essentially, as earlier pointed out in the *Gītā*, the intelligent knowledge of things and will as they are in essential nature. The *Bhagavad-Gītā* 2nd chapter : verses 11—38 detail the essential *vidyā* of Sāṅkhya. Yoga must be only with this as basis. Thus says the Lord—

*Eṣa te'bhikhitū sāṅkhye buddhiryoge tvimām śṛṇu/
 Buddhyā yukto yayā pārtha karmabandham
 prahāsyasi// ibid. 33*

*Nehābhikramanāśo'sti pratyavāyo na vidyate/
 Scalpamapyasya dharmasya trāyate mahato bhayāt//
 Ibid. 40.*

Yoga as then described denotes the complete subjugation of the senses.

Thus we find that the Sāṅkhya and Yoga relationship enunciated as necessary just as the *Akṣara* is necessary to the *Kṣara*, the *Kṣara* is necessary to the *Akṣara*; for work that has to be done, if not for oneself is at least for *lokasaṅgraha*. Nala and Ṛtuparṇa are the typifications of Yoga and Sāṅkhya and the story of Nala's exquisite horsemanship and Ṛtuparṇa's splendid ability of enumerating the number of leaves and fruits in a huge tree when he had but seen it as the chariot was racing at tremendous speed are the twin representatives of the powers of regenerate Soul discrimination and control in the terrific processes of Nature.

Ṛtuparṇa is the supreme Godhead in one sense as *Ṛtu*, *Ṛta*, is Season, is Law, is Truth, whilst *parṇa* means the Winged one, the Knower *Jñā* as against the *Ajñā* of the Upaniṣads.

The story of Nala, Damyanti and Ṛtuparṇa reveals the Mythic conception of the Yogic life being exalted and lifted up to perfection.

KAPILA ECLIPSE

By SHAMA SASTRY

Speaking of their skill in versification, the Vedic bards compare it to the deftness of a carpenter in the construction of a chariot and very often describe their songs as the chariots of the gods to ride on. One would therefore expect the poets to have taken no less care in making an array of coherent thoughts bearing on the topic in view than in the choice of words suitable to poetic cadence and metrical symmetry. But Sāyana, the celebrated commentator, seems to regard almost all long hymns as made up of incoherent fragments having no link with each other. While his interpretation of words is scarcely questionable, his explanation of the drift of the verses making up a hymn brands them as thoughts expressed at random. There is, however, reason to believe that Sāyana's explanation is far from the truth and that the various verses of all Vedic hymns, long or short, are coherent expressions bearing on connected topics. RV. I. 164 is an instance in point, as shown in my essay on "*Daniel's Dream in the Vedas*," published in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1942. RV. X. 27, attributed to Saint Vasukra, is another instance: taking Kapila in verse 16 as the name of the founder of Sāṅkhya philosophy, Sāyana explains verses 11, 12, 16 of the hymn as a tribute of praises sung in honour of that saint and teacher, leaving the rest of the verses to be interpreted by the reader for himself in any way he likes. He took no notice or rather was not aware of incoherency and anachronism with which his interpretation of Kapila as the author of Sāṅkhya is vitiated. As a matter of fact the subject of the hymn is a total solar eclipse, called Kapila and the sacrifices performed to appease the 35

gods concerned in the 35 eclipses in the subcycle of 14 lunar years. The *Sūryasiddhānta* says that a total eclipse, solar or lunar, is called Kapila (*Kapilassakalagrahe*). In RV. 11, 12, 11 Indra is said to have found out Sambara, an eclipse-demon, hidden in mountains in the fortieth autumn, *i.e.*, in the autumn of the fortieth year. In other words, the finding was in the 3rd month of the fortieth year, since the Vedic year began with the month of Śrāvaṇa in summer. This period of 39 years and two months is exactly equal to two cycles of 19 lunar years with 14 intercalary months. In these two cycles of 19 solar years or 19 lunar years with 7 intercalary months each, Indra is said to have demolished 90 forts of Sambara in RV. I. 130, 7; 99 forts in II. 19, 6; in IV. 26, 3; 100 forts in II. 14, 6; in IV. 30, 2; VI. 31, 4. These forts are stated to have consisted of iron, silver, and golden castles corresponding to eclipses of grey, black, and reddish-yellow colours (*Tait.* S. 6, 2, 3). One-third of 39 years is 13 years forming a subcycle of eclipses with one-third of 100 eclipses, *i.e.*, 34 to 35 eclipses. In the hymn under consideration the number of heroic gods (*Vīras*) that slew the eclipse demons is 35. The following is the translation with notes based upon the translations by Griffith and Wilson of the 24 verses of the hymn:—

“This, singer, is my firm determination to aid the worshipper who pours the Soma. I slay the man who brings no milk-oblation, unrighteous powerful, and truth’s perverter. 1

If I encounter in combat the undevout, resplendent in their bodies, then will I cook a vigorous bull on *Amā* (the new-moon day); and will pour into the fire Soma-juice on the fifteenth, *i.e.*, the full-moon day. 2

Note:—Immolation of bulls on solar and Soma-pressing on lunar eclipses.

Who says that I do not know Indra to be the slayer of those who do not worship him? When the fierce war commences, then my powers themselves tell me the approaching time. 3

When I enter upon unprecedented combats, then all those who are affluent in oblations approach me so engaged: I destroy the mighty and overpowering foe for the protection of the world, and seizing him by the feet, throw him down from the mountain. 4

None resists me in combat, not even the mountains when I am resolved: at my shout the dullest of hearing is alarmed, and so too even the bright-rayed (sun) moves on day by day. 5

When I see the drinkers of the libations who serve not Indra and who cut the worshippers to pieces with their hands, my shafts quickly fall upon them, as well as on those who revile the friend of the worshippers. 6

Thou, Indra, art manifest (in heaven on *Uttarāyana* day); thou waterest (the earth on *Dakṣiṇāyana* day); the one destroys the foe and also the other: these two (heaven and earth), ever-appearing, do not desert him who has pervaded the universe. 7

Cattle go together and feed upon the barley; I have beheld them grazing near their master; when called, they collect around their lord, who know how many of them he keeps with him? 8

We are grass-eaters before men; I am barley-eater inside the hall. When I am with them, one wishes to see me separated, and wants to unite us when separate from them (the cows). 9

Note:—Like cattle leaving their master and running away for feeding on barley, rays of light desert the sun or the moon in eclipse; at other times they graze near their master. Likewise, men also eat ordinary things before others; but while eating valuable things like

barley, they do so in closed rooms. Eclipse is compared to eating in closed room.

What is said by me about bipeds and quadrupeds, know that to be the truth. I shall take away the wealth of him in combat who wishes to fight and carry off women (like Sāvitrī in eclipse). 10

Whose daughter has been sometimes eyeless, which learned one will take her to be eyeless (for ever)? Which of the two: one that protects her and the other who woos her—will leave him alive who tries to abduct her? 11

Note:—The sun or the moon is believed to be eyeless in eclipse. An eclipse-demon is believed to abduct them.

How many a woman has been gratified by the flattering praise of man's desire, when the bride is fortunate and beautiful, she of herself chooses her husband amongst men. 12

He (eclipse-demon) seizes him (sun or moon) with his feet; he swallows him from behind; he places his head against his head; seated on his car he sends (his shadow) upward to heaven; he sends the same down on the outspread earth. 13

The great (sun) shadowless and out of the grasp of the demon (*apalasa*) ever-moving abides. The embryo (of the world) liberated eats oblations; fondling the offspring of another mother she hath loved. On what hath the milch cow laid her udder? 14

Note:—This refers to the belief that creative process goes on new moon and full moon days. The sun and the moon are spoken of as cows and bulls.

Seven heroes sprang from the lower portion; eight were born from the upper portion; nine occupants of stations came from behind; and ten generated in the front, partaking of food, traversed the summit of heaven. 15

(Seven eclipses in the autumnal season, eight in the spring season, nine in the rainy and ten in the winter season, 35 in all in course of 13 years.)

The sages took up one of the ten, Kapila, highly prized for completion of the sacrifice: the mother (in the disc of the sun or the moon) cherishes the future embryo.

16

The sages cooked a ram; the dice are thrown in the gambling hall; the two (the sun and the moon) passing through the filter and being purified move along the broad bow-like path.

17

(Dice-play is for the collection of grains and money from the defeated gambler for the completion of the sacrifice. The sun in solar and the moon in lunar eclipse are the defeated gamblers; Indra is the collector of the stakes, *i.e.*, rays of light;—see RV. X. 43, 5 where Indra is said to catch hold of the sun for the pledged wealth. The sun and moon pass through eclipse-fire and are thus purified; see IX. 83, 1 where heated things are said to pass through filter and become purified. The bow-like path is the visible portion of the ecliptic or orbit of the moon.)

They (the eclipse-gods) go in all directions shouting; half of them cook and the other half does not: this divine Sāvitrī has told me this, Agni whose food is wood and *Ghee* serves (gods).

18

(There is no cooking in lunar eclipses.)

I beheld the crowd coming from afar, moving outside or within the cycle; the lord of all (Indra) regulates the seasons, younger in vigour, destroying at once the herds of evil beings (eclipse-demons).

19

(The present group of eclipses is in the course of 13 years, but not in 19 years forming a complete cycle.)

These two bulls (sun and moon) belonging to me, the slayer of demons, are yoked; do not obstruct them, but praise them; atmosphere itself shall aid them to their

object; the sun attains his object: the demon Marka becomes a cloud. 20

(Prof. Ludwig thinks that there is some reference to solar eclipse here.)

This is the thunderbolt which often whirlleth down from the lofty misty realm of Sūrya; beyond this realm there is another glory: so through old age they pass and feel no sorrow. 21

The bowstring fixed to each bow clangs loudly; then the man-destroying (shafts like) birds fall (upon the foes): and the whole of this world is alarmed, presenting libations to Indra and donations to the Ṛṣis. 22

(See RV. X. 31, 7 where *Dyārāprthivī*, the upper and lower halves of the celestial sphere are spoken of as being formed of some wood, like bows.)

At the creation of the gods they (the demons) stood first; when they were hacked to pieces, there came cloud-like beings; three heat the earth; two (the sun and the moon) confront the cloud-like ones. 23

This is the life: and do thou mark and know it. As such, hide not thyself in time of battle. He manifests the light; but the cloud hides him; his passing through this purifying cloud is never abandoned. 24

In conclusion, it seems to be necessary to invite attention to the various ways in which the sun and the moon are looked upon in the Vedas. The sun is meditated upon as goddess Gāyatrī in the morning, Sāvitrī in the midday, and Sarasvatī in the evening. She is Indra's blind daughter during eclipse. It is Indra that slays the demon and sets the Sāvitrī free. The sun is also regarded as thighless (*Anūru*) and the moon as blind, *i.e.*, devoid of light. The Sāṅkhya conception of the union of lame *Puruṣa* and blind *Prakṛti* seems to have been based upon the union of the sun and the moon on the new-moon day. for the renewal of the creative process of the universe.

A LETTER TO LORD CORNWALLIS

By S. N. SEN

Every age has its peculiar standard of propriety. Who expects the Governor-General in the midst of his multifarious pre-occupations to correspond with a complete stranger without any business public or private to-day? But things were different in the eighteenth century and the good lady from Surat who solicited such a courtesy from Lord Cornwallis did nothing unusual. The Emperor of Delhi would not condescend to take notice of anybody and everybody and the lucky recipient of an imperial *shuqqa* would rightly feel proud of so special a favour. Such an epistle would be treasured more or less as a hallmark of high social standing. When the empire declined and the Governor-General became the arbiter of its fate, aspirants to social distinctions naturally turned to him as the source of all honour. To be permitted to correspond with the Governor-General was a privilege for which the old nobility would vie with the new. Probably it also afforded in an indirect way some security against the rapacity of the less scrupulous servants of the state to which residents of distant stations were not infrequently exposed.

The correspondent of Lord Cornwallis was obviously a person of high status and noble origin. She styles herself as Mahārānī as well as *goswāminī*. In India a Muslim mendicant is ordinarily addressed as a *shah* or king and courtesy concedes a similar honour to a Hindu recluse. Our *goswāminī* was evidently a Mahārānī by courtesy and owed the title to her connection with some religious order. She refers the Governor-General to a letter from Lala Mayaram who may be reasonably identified with the Dewan

of Tegh Bukht Khan, Nawab of Surat.¹ The letter, in question, is in Persian and was dated the 2nd March, 1791. It gives a brief account of the Mahārānī's family and explains the objects of her correspondence with the Governor-General and may be quoted in full.

Lālā Mayaram to Lord Cornwallis (Translation).

‘It is well known that the ancestors of Mahārānī Bahuji Maharaj always placed their reliance on God and they did not look up to anyone (for support) except Him and they were content with whatever they got from their disciples and followers and did not hanker after more. Their *Thākuradwāra* was at Gokula, Muttra, where they received all sorts of favours and concessions from the reigning kings. But on account of their extreme piety and being engaged in the search for God they did not care for these things. When the affairs of the state fell into confusion and religious prejudice gained ground, they left that place and, at the request of their disciples and followers, who lived in these districts, they brought their *Thākuradwāra* to the port of Surat. Here they passed their days in contentment on whatever they received from their disciples. As they are always offering prayers for the good of the people and the chiefs of the time, peace and order were established among men, through the power and rule of the English gentlemen. Religious prejudices disappeared. For this blessing they are always praying for the increase of the power and prestige of the English. May God enhance their splendour and dignity and may He give them grace to administer justice to the people! As there was a regular correspondence between the Chief of Surat and the aforesaid Bahuji, the affairs of the *Thākuradwāra* re-

¹ *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, VII, No. 276.

ceived full attention, and through the good offices of that gentleman, all the officers of the government gave help and showed kindness. That gentleman having left for England, correspondence with him ceased. But fortunately his lordship is the Governor-General who looks after the interests of everybody and the fame of his greatness has spread all over and the said Bahuji has heard from all visitors to these parts about the excellent qualities of his lordship. She is, therefore, more than ever engaged in offering prayers for the increase of his honour and glory. She is now desirous of opening a correspondence with him and she is sending a letter to him through a pair of *qasids* along with this letter. I request that you will kindly send a reply to it and inform us of your health and welfare from time to time. May the Sun of your fortune always shine bright!" (OR 58; 2nd March 1791).

Obviously Bahuji Maharaj was the head of the Mahārāja sect² at Surat, for it was by this title that the Consort³ of the pontiff of that order was generally known. It is no wonder that she should call herself Goswāminī Mahārājñī, as Viṭṭhalanātha, son of Vallabhācārya, the founder of the sect, was popularly known as Śrī Gosāijī, the Sanskrit equivalent of which in the feminine gender is Śrī Goswāminī. Viṭṭhalanātha's sons and pontifical successors later added the honorific title of Mahārāja⁴ to their names in accordance with the traditions of the country and our Bahuji conformed to the usual practice when she styled herself as Śrī Mahārājñī. The legend on the seal may not be unworthy of some scrutiny. Śrī Bālakṛṣṇajī, third son

² On the Mahārāja sect see *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*; Wilson, *Works*, Vol. I—Grouse, *Mathura and Hastings, Encyclopaedia of Religion*.

³ *History of the Sect of the Maharajas*, p. 106.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

of Viṭṭhalanātha, was the head of one branch of his grandfather's sect and a temple known by his name (also called Gosavi Mahārāja's temple) was built at Surat about 1695.⁵ It is not, therefore, unreasonable to infer that Bahuji Mahārāja derived her pontifical status from Bālakṛṣṇa and belonged to his branch of the sect. Probably she was associated with the Bālakṛṣṇajī temple of Surat. The Vallabhācārya sect had originally its seat at Gokula⁶ near Muttra and, as Mayaram hints, transferred its headquarters to Surat when "religious prejudice gained ground" during the reign of Aurangzeb Alamgir. One branch of the sect migrated with the image they worshipped to Nāthadwāra in Udaipur⁷ and the priests of Bālakṛṣṇajī's order probably removed their establishment earlier to safer regions on the banks of the Tapti. In 1872 roughly one-ninth of the Vaiṣṇavas, one twenty-seventh of the entire Hindu population of Surat were of Bālakṛṣṇa's persuasion.⁸ Bahuji Mahārāja, as the shepherdess of so considerable a flock, was a personage of sufficient importance and one who was entitled to divine honour from her disciples might reasonably expect some recognition of her temporal position from the secular authorities. Why a personage claiming quasi-divine status should go out of her way to cultivate the goodwill of a mere mortal is a different question.

⁵ *Surat District Gazetteer*.

⁶ Grouse—*op. cit.*, pp. 288 ff. and 352.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁸ *Bombay District Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 535-6.

श्रीहरिः

श्रीजगदीशो जयति

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीमंतगोस्वामि- /

नी श्रीमहाराज्ञीनां प्रौढोदग्रप्रतापतपना- / तपतापितारिदारवदनेषु गवरनर-
लार्डकं- / नवालीशबाहादुरेषु शुभाशिषः समुल्लसं- / तु वृत्तांतं [sic] च श्रीमद्यशः
कुसुमवाटिकालो- / चनमुदितजगदीशकृतवहलप्रसन्नता- / वर्षणभृतमकरंदनिभृता-
स्मान्मानसमति- / प्रसन्नमभवद्यतो दूरे वर्त्तमाना अपि गुणिनो- / निकटस्थिता इव
सकलचेतसि परमानंदं ज- / नयति किंच लौकिकप्रेमवद्विरपि परस्परं पत्रिका- /
लेखः क्रीयते [sic] सुरक्षणपोषितनिखिलजनधर्म- / तरुभिर्भवद्विनिखिललोकशुभ-
समुत्सुकास्मा- / स्वलौकिकसोहादवत्सु च कवी [sic] स्वमुद्रांकितानि / परंपरात
आगतवंति पत्राणि न सामीर्यत [sic]⁹ इत्याश्च- / यं भवति यतः सुमनसः [sic]
स्वमूले वर्त्तमानं सौरभं बहुली- / कुर्वति तस्मादिदानीं स्वकोशसूचकवर्ण- /
मंडितयथापरांपरापत्रप्रेषणेनास्मन्मनसि सदा संतोषो विधेय इतो विशेषः लाला-
मयारामपत्राद्भवेत्यलम् ।

॥ गवरनरलार्ड कानवालीशबाहादुरकरकि- / लितम् [sic] स्त्विदं पत्रम्
Seal. श्रीबालकृष्णो / जयति श्रीमहा / राणी बहुजीका¹⁰ / या इयं मुद्रा [स्ति]

(OR 56, 2nd March 1791)

TRANSLATION

PROSPEROUS HARI.

The Prosperous Lord of the world is victorious.

Be it well. May the good wishes of the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja ŚrīmantaGosvāminī Śrī Mahārājñī shed lustre on the great Governor Lord Cornwallis, the sunlike splendour of whose terrible and firmly consolidated power is scorching the faces of his enemy's wives. Be it known that our heart, refreshed as it is by viewing your glory

⁹ Obviously a slip for 'सामीर्यत'¹⁰ Formed by adding 'कन्' to the honorific 'बहुजी'.

which is a veritable flower garden, and nourished as it is by the honey emitting from the many blessings showered (on you) by God, has become full with joy. For, the illustrious, even when they live at a distance, cause happiness to all hearts as they would have done had they been close by. However, even those who are allied in a temporal way are accustomed to correspond with each other. It is strange, therefore, that although we are solicitous for the well-being of the whole world and are bound (to you) by a spiritual tie of friendship, you who are a veritable tree of justice, which by its able protection sustains the whole mankind, do not now even care to address (lit. do not even half-address) any of those letters which, with your own seal impressed on them, used regularly to flow (to us). Just as the flower sends out the sweetness contained within its core, do you also ever gladden our heart by regularly sending us letters decorated with scripts expressing your welfare. Further particulars may kindly be learnt from Lālā Mayārāma's letter. What more?

May this letter sport¹¹ with the hand of His Excellency Lord Cornwallis the Governor.

Seal:—Śrī Bālakṛṣṇa is victorious.

This is the seal of

Mahārānī Bahuḥikā *

¹¹ Lit. "be made to sport by the hands of etc." Evidently, 'कलितम्' in the original is a slip for the causal form 'कलितम्'.

* I am much indebted to Mr. N. N. Chaudhuri, M.A., Kāvyaśāstrakāraṇatīrtha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Ramjash College, Delhi, for the kind help I received from him in translating the letter.

SANSKRIT COLLEGE, BENARES

By S. N. SEN

Most Indians in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries used courtly Persian in their official correspondence, a few preferred their mother-tongue and a microscopic minority, learned Brahmans as a rule, had recourse to classical Sanskrit. So far only one instance of a bilingual letter addressed to the Governor-General of the day in which the Persian text is prefaced by two laudatory Sanskrit verses in a sonorous and difficult metre (*Śragdharā*) has come to our notice. The writer, Kāśīnātha Paṇḍita, was the first Rector¹ or the head preceptor, as he is variously styled in contemporary records, of the Sanskrit College or Pāṭhaśālā founded by Jonathan Duncan at Benares and held that office for nearly a decade. We know very little or nothing about him except that under his administration the Pāṭhaśālā belied the high hopes of the well-meaning founders and became an object of common ridicule. Kāśīnātha's scholarship has not been called into question by any of his critics. He was in all probability a native of Bengal, as one of the² eight foundation professors of the Pāṭhaśālā, Śyāmānanda Bhaṭṭācārjī is described as "son of Cashinath". Among the pilgrims and paṇḍitas who in 1787 bore testimony to the character and

¹ Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110 and George Nicholl's *History of the Benares College*, p. 4.

² In Nicholl's work the other names are given as "Biresur Sheth, (Bireswar Shesh?) Professor of the large Vyakarana of Panini and the Bhasya of the Rigveda," "Ramchandra Tara Professor of the Veda and Vedanta," "Soolepa (Sooba?) Shastri Professor of the Mimamsa," "Gossain Anandgir, Professor of the Purans and Caba (Kavya) Shastra," "Luchmipat Joshi, Professor of the Jotish Shastra," "Gangaram Bhat, Professor of the Vaya (Ayurveda) Shastra," and "Ramprashad Tarka Panchanan, Professor of Nyayasastra."

good Government of Warren Hastings we come across two Kāśīnāthas who subscribe themselves as Maithila and Śarmā respectively.³ Of these, Kāśīnātha Śarmā is probably our man. It is extremely unlikely that a person of his ambition and enterprise would keep aloof from a movement set in foot to vindicate the character and administration of an ex-Governor-General⁴ and a Maithila's son does not usually call himself a Bhaṭṭācārjī. "Sero Shastri Guru Tarkalankar Cashinath Pandit Juder Bedea Behadur" is probably the nineteenth century English corruption of the Persian equivalent of Śrī Śāstrī Guru Paṇḍita Kāśīnātha Tarkālaṅkāra Yajurvedī.

Whether the idea of founding a government school for Sanskrit studies at Benares on the analogy of the Madrasa at Calcutta really originated with Kāśīnātha we do not know. But in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we need not summarily dismiss his claim as absolutely unfounded. Charles Wilkins probably experienced some difficulty in securing the services of a competent Brāhmaṇa scholar, for in those days orthodox Brāhmaṇas would not ordinarily agree to interpret their sacred rites and doctrines to a Christian student. Even a personage of Sir William Jones's rank met with rebuff from certain Paṇḍitas

³ *Two Sanskrit Memoranda of 1787* (published in the *Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* Nov. 1943).

⁴ As a matter of fact in the Sanskrit letter of congratulation addressed to Hastings by the Benares Pandits on 'the 7th of the light fortnight of the moon of Phalgoona in the year 1852 of the Samvat' (15 March 1796) his name appears at the head of the other signatories. The original letter is not traceable among the archives of the Government of India but a translation of it will be found in the *Debates of the House of Lords* (1797), pp. 755—768. Here his name is followed by the designation "Professor of General Knowledge" as well as his seal, wherein he is described as 'Ornament of Logic and among Panditas called the Chief of Science' (*vide* 'The Testimonials of good conduct to Warren Hastings by the Benares Pundits' by P. K. Gode, M.A., in *Journal of the Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II No. 1).

of the more cosmopolitan and less exclusive city of Calcutta. Our records are silent about Wilkins's suggestion to Warren Hastings, Kāśīnātha's contemplated journey to Calcutta and his conversation with Jonathan Duncan. All that we definitely know is that Duncan suggested to Lord Cornwallis in a letter dated 1st January, 1792, that a part of "the surplus Revenue expected to be derived from the permanent settlement" "could not be applied to more general advantage or with more local propriety than by the Institution of a Hindoo College or Academy for the preservation and cultivation of the Laws, Literature and Religion of that nation, at this centre of their faith, and the common resort of all their tribes."⁵ Duncan believed that two very desirable objects will be simultaneously attained by the foundation of such an Academy. The services of the professors and students might be utilised for the collection and transcription of rare Sanskrit treatises on religion, laws, sciences and arts and a valuable manuscript library might thus be "accumulated at only a small expense to Government."⁶ The British Government would thus gain great credit and popularity with the Hindus in general by outdoing their own princes in their zeal for the preservation and propagation of Hindu learning, and the college in due course would be "a nursery of future doctors and expounders of Hindoo Law, to assist the European Judges in the due, regular, and uniform administration of its genuine letter and spirit to the body of the people." Such advantages could be secured according to Duncan's estimate at the comparatively moderate cost of Rupees 14,000 per annum. The Governor-General readily approved of the scheme and authorised the Resident to increase the establishment to Sicca Rupess 20,000 per annum "from the commencement of the Fussly year 1200",

⁵ *Selections from Educational Records*, Part I, p. 10.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 11.

“provided upon the arrival of that period you shall be of opinion (of which you will advise us) that the surplus collections will be adequate to the payment of the amount.”⁷ So in due course the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā was started with eight professors and Kāśīnātha as Head preceptor. If he had really exerted himself heart and soul for ten years with a view to establishing a Sanskrit Academy, his labours found ample reward in the monthly emoluments of Rupees 200 besides the prestige and patronage associated with the preceptor's office.

The Governor-General-in-Council was the official visitor of the newly-founded institution, but the Resident, as his Deputy, was the person really responsible for the success of the scheme. Duncan took every care not to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Brahmins on whose co-operation the future of the Pāṭhaśālā largely depended. One of the rules framed by him definitely laid down that “the Professor of Medicine must be a Vaidya, and so may the teacher of Grammar; but as he could not teach Panini, it would be better that all except the physician, should be Brahmans.” The next rule provided that the Brahman teachers were to have preference over “strangers” in succeeding to the headship, and it was also decided that the discipline of the college should conform in every respect to the edicts of Manu and the examination of students in “the more secret branches of learning were to be conducted periodically by a committee of Brahmans” and the Professors were not expected to impart lessons in sacerdotal subjects in the presence of non-Brahmans.⁸ Hindu sentiments were, therefore, fully taken into account and all possible concessions were made to Brahman prejudices in recruiting professors and in framing regulations. There is reason to suspect that even

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12 and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

the professorship of medicine went to a member of the priestly caste.⁹

The College records are wanting for the first seven years, and it is not clear when exactly its affairs took an unhappy turn. Duncan left Benares in 1795 and in 1798 the supervision of the college was vested in a Committee consisting of G. F. Cherry, Samuel Davis and Captain Wilford.¹⁰ Cherry was a Persian scholar of some repute and met with a tragic end at Benares in January 1799. Davis had interested himself in the study of Hindu astronomy and Wilford, a devoted student of Sanskrit, was appointed the Secretary of the Committee. He was originally appointed to survey the boundaries between the British districts and the Nawab Vizir's territories, but the Oudh officers offered all sorts of obstacles to him and his work had to be suspended.¹¹ Meanwhile he had made good use of his enforced rest, and Jonathan Duncan suggested to Sir John Shore that Wilford should be permitted to continue at Benares and complete his researches. In a minute dated 13th June, 1794, Sir John Shore recommended that "Wilford be allowed to remain in Benares in his present situation with an additional allowance of Rs. 600 p.m., as a recompense for the expense and labour of procuring materials for and prosecuting in the above city or elsewhere an enquiry into the knowledge of the Hindoos in Geography as well as other branches of science and also

⁹ Gangaram Bhatt who was appointed to the post seems to be identical with the Pandit who signed as 'Gangaram Sharma' on the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4. His name appears as 'Bhatt Gangaram' in the list of signatories to the Sanskrit Memorandum addressed by the 'Maharashtra and Nagara,' Brahmins of Benares on 16 Nov. 1787 (*Journal of G. N. Jha Research Institute Nov. 1943*).

¹⁰ Nicholl's *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹¹ Wilford to Duncan dated 10 May 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794 13 June No. 8 and Duncan to Shore 4th June 1794. Pub. Cons. 1794, 13 June No 7.

into their ancient History.”¹² The personnel of the Committee was, therefore, judiciously selected and its enquiries revealed a sad state of things.

On the 13th March, 1801, the Committee (meanwhile Cherry and Davis had been replaced by Neave and Deane) reported that “of 202 scholars mentioned in the Bill of Kashinaut, the Head Preceptor, only fifty or thereabout attended regularly, that 50 or 70 more attended once or twice a month and the remainder had hardly been heard of even by name. It further appeared that for these 5 or 6 years there had only been eleven instead of twelve Pundits in the College and that the Head Preceptor Kashinaut had entered the name of a fictitious Pundit in order to receive his allowance.”¹³ Kāśīnātha was further guilty of contumacy and refused to prepare the pay-roll in accordance with the instructions of the Committee. He was thereupon dismissed¹⁴ and ordered to make over the property of the Pāṭhaśālā to Jaṭā Śaṅkara Paṇḍita. Kāśīnātha’s defence is offered in the bilingual letter addressed to Lord Mornington.

That Kāśīnātha had been guilty of serious malversation admits of no doubt. But in fairness to him it should be pointed out that he had for his colleagues persons far from competent or responsible. Soon after Lord Mornington’s arrival in India (the letter was received on the 3rd August, 1798), Kāśīnātha complained to the Governor-General that “During the last four months five of the twelve

¹² Pub. Cons. 18 June 1794 No. 9.

¹³ Pol. Cons. 1801, 16 April No. 110.

¹⁴ This occurred in April 1801 (Pol. Progs. 16 April 1801). For Jata Shankar’s appointment see Pol. Cons. 3rd June 1801 no 34. He may reasonably be identified with “Deeksheeta Jata Sankara, Professor of the Rik Veda”, who was also a signatory to the Sanskrit address referred to in note 4. He was replaced by Pandit Ramananda sometime after July 1805. (Nicholls, *op. cit.* pp. 12 and 14.)

Pundits attached to this Madrasa having entered into collusion have been in the practice of going daily to the Omlah of several of the Gentlemen here, in consequence of which the duties of the Madrasa are impeded. They disregard my remonstrances on the subject. I have already mentioned this circumstance to the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal as well as to the Judge of this District who intimated to me in reply that they could not act in the instance without order from Government. I have therefore to request that your Lordship will authorise either the Gentlemen of the Court of Appeal or the Judge of this District to investigate the circumstance and to do whatever may appear to them to be proper."¹⁵ It appears that the professors were permitted to hold their classes at their respective residences and though in complete conformity with the old traditions of the country this practice was hardly conducive to strict discipline. Obviously such discipline as was originally observed quickly deteriorated after Mr. Duncan's departure.

Of the foundation-professors Rāma Prasāda Tarkālaṅkāra¹⁶ (also styled as Tarka-Pañcānana) enjoyed the reputation of a learned and conscientious scholar, but he was an octogenarian at the time of his appointment. Vīreśwara Paṇḍita, Subā Śāstrī¹⁷ and Jaṭā Śaṅkara wanted that their pupils' stipends should be paid to them, a claim which the Committee was unable to uphold. According to Mr. Brooke (who officiated as President of the Committee in 1804) Jaṭā Śaṅkara's reputation for learning and his general respectability did not justify his appointment to

¹⁵ Secret Cons. 4th January 1799 No. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 and 7. He was the Professor of Nyayasastra. He retired in April 1813 at the age of 103 and was granted a pension of Rs. 50/- per month.

¹⁷ Professor of Mimamsa. He was dismissed in 1799 (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 14).

the Rector's office.¹⁸ In 1813 the new Rector¹⁹ complained against Vīreśwara Paṇḍita, Śivanātha Paṇḍita²⁰ and Jayarāma Bhaṭṭa²¹ for dereliction of duty. Kāśīnātha's unfavourable reference to Śivanātha Paṇḍita's activities may not, therefore, have been altogether unmerited. In any case the position of the leader of such a team was far from enviable, and Kāśīnātha's failure to run the college on proper lines might not have been due to his own delinquency alone though his stewardship of the college funds was by no means creditable. He has been accused of substantially reducing the original salaries of the Professors, but with the limited funds at his disposal he could not possibly raise the number of professors from eight to twelve without a cut in their pay.

At least one statement of Kāśīnātha has been fully corroborated by the Committee. He complained that the monthly grant of the college had been withheld by Captain Wilford since September 1799. The Committee in its letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government admits that the establishment of the college has been many months in arrears and as on the 30th May, 1801, a bill was presented for the allowance of the entire year of 1800,²² Kāśīnātha's charges do not appear to be unduly exaggerated. It does not redound to the credit of the Committee that it should permit the professors' pay to fall in arrears for more than twelve months since its appointment in 1793.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁹ *I.e.* Paṇḍit Ramananda. He was a native of Jaipur.

²⁰ Professor of Religious duties. (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 7). Probably the same as Sivanath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit Memorandum drawn up by the 'Bengali' Paṇḍits of Benares in 1787 (*Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* Nov. 1943).

²¹ Professor of Yajurveda (Nicholls *op. cit.*, p. 7). His name also appears among the signatories to the Sanskrit Address of 1796 (*vide* Note 4) as well as the Sanskrit Memorandum of 1787 (*vide* Note 9).

²² Pol. Cons. 16 April 1801 No. 110 and Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Kāśīnātha's removal from the Rector's office did not improve the administration or the general reputation of the college. His temporary successor Jaṭā Śaṅkara was a man of indifferent ability. The Committee's supervision was neither efficient nor effective and the early history of the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā does more credit to Jonathan Duncan's heart than to his discrimination.

Kāśīnātha's Letter to Lord Mornington ²³

बाहुच्छायां प्रजास्ते सततमधिगताः शेरते वीतरांका आतंकाह्या / भ्रमंतो
दिशि दिशि रिपवो नैव निद्रां लभन्ते न्यायेनोर्व्यां चतुष्पा / च्चिरविहतपदः स्थापितो
भूद्रुषस्ते किंमू मः पुण्यकीर्त्तिनतिम वसि / नृपात्लाटमान्दीनभूष १ सिंधोः पारं
प्रयाता निपतित- / घृतनास्त्यत्क [क ?]-वंतो ममत्वं राष्ट्रे दुर्गे केशे रणभुवि भवता
वत्स लत्वेन मुक्ताः प्रातः प्राच्यामुदीक्ष्य प्रतिदिन मरयो मंडलं चं- / डरश्मेस्त्वद्रोल-
भ्रांतिभाजो दधति विकलतां लाटमान्दी (न ?) भूष २

(In Persian)

Sir,

I beg to state that Mr. Wilford, in order to take possession of the *patshala* withheld its *mushahara* from the beginning of September 1799 and thought that the students not getting their *mushahara* would absent themselves (from attending the classes). Hearing this I tried my best to run the institution and to maintain the attendance as usual. One year after Shiv Nath Pandit instigated the

²³ *English translation of the introductory verses :*

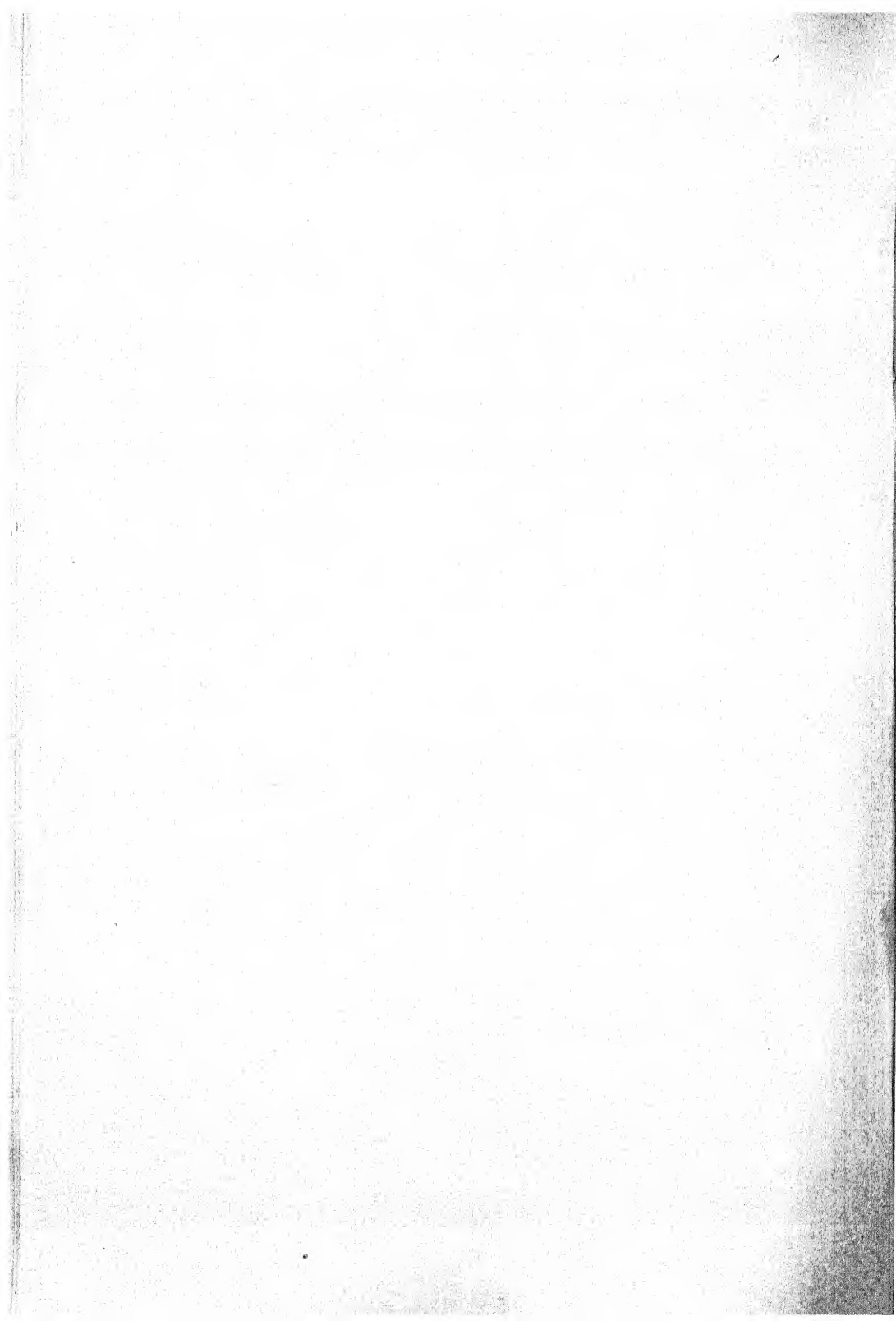
"Your subjects ever secure under the shade of your arms sleep without fear; your enemies who wander in terror in all directions find no sleep at all. You have restored with justice on earth the long dislocated fourfooted bull (of Dharma). What more should I say! You surpass all monarchs of sacred memory, Oh Lord Mornington.

Your enemies who, spared in the battlefield by your clemency, have with routed troops fled across the seas, resigning their interest in the states, strongholds and treasures, still get bewildered daily in the morning when they see the orb of the burning rays (*i.e.*, the sun) in the east confounding it with your own orb, Oh Lord Mornington."

Pandits of my *patshala* and one day in my absence he showed Mr. Hawkins 68 students as absentees. Having learnt this my students in a body presented an *arzi* before Mr. Hawkins²⁴ and Mr. Wilford saying that in fact they were present but they have been shown as absentees by the Pandits simply to turn them (the students) against me and to bring them under control, but their representations went unheeded. This fact is a well-known affair in Benares. I have already represented this fact to you for your consideration. Now on 28 April, 1801, I received a *parwana* informing me that under instructions from you my *patshala* has been closed and directing me to make over the books, furniture, etc., of the *patshala* to Jaya (Jata) Shankar Pandit. I accordingly made over the articles to the aforesaid Pandit. If it is your wish to hand over the control of the *patshala* to Mr. Wilford, I have nothing to say in the matter. I beg further to say that Mr. Charles Wilkins came to Benares in order to study the *Shastras*. He sent for many learned Pandits and requested them to teach him the subject. Some of them did not agree to take up the work while others failed to do it efficiently. Mr. Wilkins then summoned me for the purpose. By the grace of God I taught him the subject within a short time. With a view to disseminating the knowledge of the *Shastras* I spoke to Mr. Wilkins that since a Madrasa for teaching Persian was set up in Calcutta, it was but proper that a *patshala* for teaching of the *Shastras* was established in Benares which is a holy place of the Hindus. Mr. Wilkins represented this matter to Mr. Warren Hastings who approved of the idea and desired me to see him at Calcutta. I thereupon made arrangements for my departure, but for want of a proper boat for the journey a little delay occurred with the result

²⁴ F. Hawkins, Judge of Benares from 1800.

that Mr. Hastings sailed for England and the matter was held in abeyance. For a period of 10 years I had been busy heart and soul in trying to establish a *patshala* for imparting education in the *Shastras*. On Mr. Jonathan Duncan's arrival at Benares I spoke to him also in the matter. He (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) represented the matter to you and with your approval set up a *patshala* and put me in authority and control of it and issued orders to the treasury of Benares to make regular payments for its expenses. I (in pursuance of the order) had been getting the *mushahara* monthly and distributing it to those who were connected with the work of the *Shastras* here (at Benares). The honour that I am now enjoying had been bestowed on me by you and I hope that you will also maintain it in future. (OR).



SIDDHA ŚĀSTRAS: A RECONCILIATORY STUDY

By K. R. R. SASTRY

The make-secret policy has spoiled many works which have not been made available to Pandits and savants.¹

Siddhas mean “dwarfs.” These Siddhas have attained a golden hue through their “*Tapasyā*.”² Born naturally like us, after attaining a higher evolution, these Siddhas had grown small in stature.

Among the *Siddhas* one group is called “Navanāḍha Siddhas;” according to another version there are sixty-four. Eighteen Siddhas are found mentioned foremost. Sundaranandar states in his *Śuddha Gñānam*³ that a Siddha is one who has known this great path through experience and initiation after digesting:

- (a) Konkana’s Ashtāngam.
- (b) Subramaniam’s Gñānam.
- (c) „ Kadāikkāṇḍam.
- (d) Kumbamuni—Dīksha.
- (e) Thīrumūlar—Five Hundred.
- (f) Matsyamuni—Gñānam.
- (g) Kumbhamuni—Pujai.
- (h) „ Gnanam. 100.

Nandiśwara, Agasthya, Matsya, Pidunakkiśar, Dhanvantari, Karuvurar, Pulastya, Buchunda, Thīrumūlar Sattamuni, Romaṣi, Bogar, Brahmamuni, Sundarar, Ramadevar, Therayar, Kapilar and Kamalamuni—these constitute the eighteen *Siddhas*. Some others include Idaikkādar and Pāmbātti Siddhar among

¹ Pandit Anantakrishna Sastry in his commentary on “*Sundarya-Laharī*.”

² Thirvalluvar—*Pancharatnam*: 47.

³ Stanzas, 47, 48.

them. Śrī Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavadgītā* says⁴ that he is "सिद्धानाम् कपिलो मुनिः ।"

All their writings in Tamil which had been preserved in palm-leaves and worshipped in many Saivite families in South India have since last fifty years been mostly printed from Madura and Madras. Most of these Siddhas convey their understanding of Sanskrit (e.g., Nandīswara, Dhanvantari).

These *Siddha Sāstras* are written in *Paribhāṣā*—veiled language. It is one of the tenets of Siddhas that what they write should bear more than one meaning at a time. There is thus, as it were, an impenetrable barrier to clear understanding. Most of these verses stand an interpretation in the yogic and medicinal planes; sometimes after entrancingly describing the inward experience of the Siddha in different planes, there is a sudden drop in the next stanza to describe the elements of the *Kalpasiddhi* for the body.

Thiruvalluvar, the great sage and author of the Tamil Veda. Kural, has sung in his *Pañcaratnam*⁵ that owing to the defect of not stating it clearly many millions have been misled. The number of students who have studied these Sastras and followed doubtful and dubious ways is very high indeed.

Many votaries at this path have been misled into becoming experts in medicine, witchcraft or some other black art. Some others taking an erroneous clue from *Aṇḍa* and *Piṇḍa* (which is a very common reference in Hindu philosophy for referring to ब्रह्माण्ड and पिण्ड) have wasted their lives in unearthing the graves of children.

⁴ V. 26. Ch. X.

⁵ *Vide* also the description of सिद्धाश्रम in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 29, verse 3. "सिद्धाश्रमदुर्लभ्यातः सिद्धो ह्यत्र महातपाः ।"

⁵ Verse 6.

Diabolical have been their deeds and manifestly criminal their acts. Some others like the present author's father had spent their whole lives in purifying substances like lead, mercury, and sulphur.

Vaidya Muppu

While at this stage, one can examine the striking similarity between Indian, Alexandrine and Chinese works of Alchemy. Words like *Kāya-kalpa*, *Brahma Garbha*, *Ākāśa Gangai*, *Śuddham Viṣṇupādam Tīrtham* recur in many Siddha's poems. It is stated all through that the many difficulties and crises that the body will be subjected to when *Kuṇḍalinī* is roused to dwell in *Suṣumnā* in its ascent to and descent from *Sahasrāra* can be borne only when the body takes in this elixir called *Muppu* (lit. compound of three elements). When this *Kalpa* is taken in, the body gets a golden hue. Many avaricious votaries in alchemy had lost all their riches and died disappointed and disillusioned. Sage Thiruvalluva has sung in *Pañcaratnam*⁶ that this *Kalpa* is child's play to the righteous and disciplined sage.

One reads in a Chinese work "*Tsan-Tung-Shi*" that the aspirant must have been an adept in "*Taoism*." Further details stated are that this precept can be got only in lonely hills, that this Path should not be divulged to more than three, that the body must be perfectly poised and pure,—and that the aspirant should fast for hundred days prior to achievement. It is further stated in symbolic language that "white tiger," "blue serpent," and "flying pearl" ("Red Bird") should be heated in the furnace called "*Ting*" when it becomes converted into the recipe.

Likewise, reference to these three identical elements runs through the *Siddha Śāstras*. Is it the

⁶ Verse 316.

time-worn reference to the Sun element (mainspring of all vitality), the earth element (hidden heat) and the third unexpressed Ākāśa element (*Mauna-Akṣaram*) familiar to us in the *yogic* plane? Or is this recipe which is a synthesis of *two* transformed by the *third* into One,—the eternal theme in our religion and philosophy—suggested to us in our own geography by the Ganges, the Jumna and the *Antarrahinī* Saraswatī?⁷

In the Alexandrine system also the aspirant should be loyal and disciplined. this great secret should not be divulged to any; the importance of mercury, lead and gold is emphasised; the initiated should talk and write in symbolic language; the interaction of Sun, Moon, and the other seven planets on metals—all these are found considerably emphasised. May it not be suggested that the details of alchemy in India were carried to Egypt, Greece, and Rome by Siddhas as Bhogar and Romarṣi (two Siddhas whose names connect them with Greece and Rome)?

Siddha Mārga

Endless have been the modes of describing the path of Siddhas. One sure clue to reconcile the songs of Siddhas is by remembering that the Siddhas were describing the arduous ordeal of regulating breath and rousing *Kuṇḍalinī*.

The parallel reference running all through is to some pointed achievement of the *Sādhana* of Yoga Muppu. Every genuine student of Yoga (whatever kind it be of the Seven Yogas) would experience great hardship as he advances from one stage to another through the essential six *psychic centres* till he reaches the Seventh

⁷ Bhagwan Śrī Ramakrishna Paramahansa yearns in his prayer for the submerging of his self into the *Paramātman* as the great fusion of the Ganges and the *Yamunā* into One.

Heaven (*Sahasrāra*). Just as no individual can pass through all these stages safely unless he had been initiated into the art by a practical yogin; likewise, the *Kalpam* that is necessary to regulate the human system through the stages of concentration can be known only through a *guru*.

A *guru* who is most merciful and worthy of veneration blesses the pupil only when he gets ripe for it through leading a righteous, peaceful and disciplined life. Cf.

यदा तु मेलनं योगी लभते गुरुवक्त्रतः ।
तदा त्वत्सिद्धिमाप्नोति यदुक्ता शास्त्रसन्ततौ ॥⁸

Siddha's sympathy

Many Siddhas have sung in verses their abundant sympathy to the thousands who miss the aim of human existence. A progressive plan has been adumbrated throughout the *Siddha Śāstras* for the great quest of man after God-head. The striking points of similarity between the *Mantra* and *Siddha Śāstras* lie in the mastery of the technique (theory) and the initiation into the art (practice) by a competent *Guru*.

Just as the followers of *Vāma-Mārga* have deteriorated the great *Mantra Śāstras*, so have the seekers after filthy lucre brought discredit to the exalted *Siddha-Mārga*. The students of *Mantra-Yoga* will get valuable guidance from Lakṣmidhara's commentary on *Saundarya-Laharī*. Sage Thiruvalluvar has given precious clues likewise to the student of *Siddha-Mārga* in his *Pañcaratnam* and *Jñāna Vettiyan*.

There is no short-cut to Eden. It is an exalted Path to hear the *Voice of the Silence* by controlling the senses. Out of infinite mercy, the Siddhas have indi-

⁸ *Yoga Kuṇḍalinī Upaniṣad*.

cated the arduous path. Sage Thirumula had many difficulties in the practice of *yoga* and in the end succeeded through the grace of his *Guru*.

Starting from regulating one's conduct towards society, one should perforce pass through arduous stages before he becomes a *Siddha Puruṣa*—the toil is hard, patient, and long continued. The paths of *Karma*, *Bhakti*, *Yoga*, and *Jñāna* have been promulgated to different *Adhikārīs*. The *Mantra Śāstras* as well as *Siddha Śāstras* describe exalted paths to be followed progressively by man. For the man who leads a righteous life and who is a highly evolved being, success is in store.

What is found emphasised in the writings of eighteen *Siddhas* has been stated in the *Yoga-Kuṇḍalinī-Upaniṣad* :—

समाधिमेकेन समममृतं यान्ति योगिनः ।
यथामिदंमध्यस्थो नोत्तिष्ठेन्मथनं विना ॥
विना चाभ्यासयोगेन ज्ञानदीपस्तथा न हि ।
घटमध्यगतो दीपो बाह्येनैव प्रकाशते ॥
भिन्ने तस्मिन्घटे चैव दीपज्वाला च भासते ।
स्वकार्यं घटमित्युक्तं यथा दीपो हि तत्तदम् ॥
गुरुवाक्यसमाभिन्ने ब्रह्मज्ञानं स्फुटी भवेत् ।
कर्णधारं गुरुं प्राप्य कृत्वा सुद्धमं तरन्ति च ॥"

May we get great comfort through this basic fact :—
“Lord lives in the temple, *i.e.*, our body. He is dancing in our heart.” Are we to be led away to disease, dirt, and destruction through the five ‘Thieves—Senses? No—we shall yearn to hear *the voice of the silence* within this great shrine—our *sthūla* body.¹⁰

⁹ *Yoga-Kuṇḍalinī Upaniṣad*.

¹⁰ *Āgama Śāstras* carry on this great theme of our body which the sculptors have engraved in South Indian Temples. The great temple of *Śrī Natarāja* at Chidambaram is in this view the body of a Yogin with head in the South and feet in the North.

ORIGINALITY AND SANSKRIT POETICS*

By K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER

In any field where a great number of workers arise in every generation and labour with keen rivalry, it will not be long before novelty and originality become recognised as the mark of the better worker. This was true also of Sanskrit Poets in Ancient India. They attached great value to tradition, it is true, and held in great reverence the poets of the past and their achievements and yet they knew that it was not enough to imitate them. Kālidāsa may seem rather apologetic in tone when he says : न चापि काव्यं नवमित्यवद्यम्, but he was fully aware that the readers of his poems and the spectators of his dramas expected to see some novelty and originality in his works before pronouncing them to be good. Poets and critics often refer to novelty as an essential element in poetry. It figures with vivid life-like description, judicious use of homonyms, clear *Rasa* and harmonious arrangement of sounds in that combination of qualities which even a writer like Bāṇa declared difficult to attain in his *Harṣacarita*.¹ He mentions the combination in his *Kādambarī*² also, and novelty appears in it in the words : नवैः पदार्थैरुपपादिताः कथाः । Similarly, Rājaśekhara, in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* places high the poet in whose words there is something new :

किन्त्वस्ति । यद्वचसि वस्तु नवं सदुक्ति—
संदर्भाणां स धुरि तस्य गिरः पवित्राः ॥

* Read at the 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University.

¹ नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽविलष्टः स्फुटो रसः ।

विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुष्करम् ॥ *Harṣacarita*, Intro. verse 8.

² *Kādambarī*—Introductory verse 9.

In the midst of this universal recognition that novelty is an essential element in poetry, there was also the realisation that it was difficult to achieve. There was the feeling that the first poets, especially Vālmīki, had already dealt with all subjects that it was difficult for later poets to find any new subject or to say anything new about the old ones. Some people had the feeling that there was after all a limit to the subjects which can be described in poetry and that the first poets had already dealt with them all. Abhinavagupta gives expression to this fear of some in the following words: वर्णनीयस्य परिमित्वात् आद्यकविनैव स्पृष्टत्वात् सर्वस्य तद्विषयं प्रतिमानं तज्जातीयमेव स्यात् । ततश्च काव्यमपि तज्जातीयमेवेति भ्रष्ट इदानीं कविप्रयोगः" । Rājasekhara also refers to a very similar view of some scholars in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*: पुराणकविक्षुण्णे वर्त्मनि दुरापमस्पृष्टं वस्तु । ततस्तदेव संस्कर्तुं प्रयतेत³ । In this view the later poets can do no more than perfect what has already been said by earlier poets. They cannot deal with any new subject. Real novelty is beyond their reach, not because they are not gifted, but because, after all, there is a limit to the things which can be described in poetry and they have already been described by the first poet. वर्णनीयस्य परिमित्यं, it is this which stands in the way of novelty according to this view.

Sometimes this difficulty in attaining novelty is presented in another manner. This वर्णनीयस्य परिमित्यं is denied. It is pointed out that things in this world differ from one another widely in their peculiarities and individual characteristics. If these are observed in detail and described as they are, that alone would introduce a great deal of novelty in literature. If, in addition, the poet has

³ *Dhvanīlōka* with *Locana*, p. 522 (*Kāshī Sanskrit Series*, No. 135).

⁴ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 62 (*Gaekwad O. Series*, No. 1).

recourse to the power of suggestion in presenting these individual characteristics of things, the beauty and novelty of his work would reach their climax. Novelty would thus consist in the observation of the infinite variety and richness that exist in the individual characteristics of the objects of the world and their presentation through अभिधा or व्यञ्जना । वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं is not a fact. It is its richness and variety which are facts.

To this view the objection is raised that poets do not describe all this variety and richness in the individual characteristics of things. They do not perceive it at all, as the Yogins do. Yogins have the remarkable capacity of visualising this infinite variety in the nature of things and in the workings of other people's minds. Poets do not possess this capacity. As Ānandavardhana puts it:—
न हि तैरतीतमनागतं वर्तमानं च परिचितादिस्वलक्षणं योगिभिरिव प्रत्यक्षीक्रियते ।

Even if they actually cognise all this variety of things they cannot describe it in their works, because words can only express the universal aspect of things, they cannot refer to their individual aspects. As Abhinava puts it:—प्रत्यक्षदर्शनेऽपि हि शब्दाः संकेतितं प्रादुर्ग्वहाराय स स्मृतः । तदा स्वलक्षणं नास्ति संकेतस्तेन तत्र नः⁵ ॥

All this variety is outside the scope of words. All that the poets can do is to present things in their universal aspects and, in doing so, they would only be repeating what the very first poets have already described. This universal aspect of things figures in the experience of all mankind and, of course, it has not escaped the cognitions of the first poets. As Ānandavardhana puts it:—

तत्रानुभाव्यानुभवसामान्यं । सर्वप्रतिपक्षसाधारणं परिमितत्वात् पुरातनानामेव गोचरीभूतं तस्याविषयत्वानुपपत्तेः ।

⁵ *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 541.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 542.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 541.

Thus, in this view, it is not the limited nature of things but the incapacity of words to express anything more than the universal aspect of things which stands in the way of originality.

Not only did these theoretical considerations focuss attention on the question of novelty and originality. There was also the practical necessity of assessing the merits of the new poets who were rising in each generation and whose works often resembled in words and ideas those of the ancient ones. It was necessary to lay down some principle according to which these resemblances might be judged. It was necessary to see whether and to what extent it was possible to concede merit to the new author in spite of the correspondences between his works and that of the ancients. These resemblances were not all due to the same cause. They were sometimes the result of the slow and unconscious absorption by the new author of the literary traditions of the past, involving a close acquaintance with the works of the ancients. Some poets have an immense range in reading, a great memory, conscious or unconscious, and a perfect skill in using material taken from the past. Sometimes the resemblance is due to deliberate imitation of the style of the master by the young poet undergoing training, and, finally, there was the unscrupulous plagiarist whom Bāṇa describes in the following words :

अन्यवर्षपरावृत्या बन्धचिह्ननिगूहनेः ।

अनाख्यातः सतां मध्ये कविचौरो विभाव्यते⁸ ॥

It is only natural that such theoretical and practical considerations should sooner or later raise the question of novelty or originality in literature. The object of this paper is not to study novelty and originality as they are actually found in the works of Sanskrit poets, but to

⁸ *Harṣacarita*, Intro. verse,

draw attention to one or two ideas on the subject found in the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*.

Here, as in so many other matters connected with literature, it is to the *Dhvanyāloka* and to its Commentary, the *Locana*, that we must turn to find the question openly discussed. Ānandavardhana has something to say on the theoretical as well as the practical difficulties raised in connection with novelty.

To begin with the first theoretical difficulty, the one based on the limited nature of the things of the world, वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यं, he declares that a touch of ध्वनि makes the whole world new and inexhaustible. As against the word पारिमित्यं he uses the words आनन्त्य and नवत्वं and to achieve both, the best way is to introduce ध्वनि in poetry. ध्वनि freshens everything, and makes everything new. He is very anxious to dispel the notion that the first poets have exhausted all subjects and ideas and, therefore, there is nothing new left for the later poets to describe. The secret of having ever fresh things to say lies within the poet himself. ध्वनि is the secret. Through it the प्रतिभा of the poet becomes inexhaustible. His words and style acquire a freshness which can never be anticipated by any ancient poet even though they may be dealing with an old subject or expressing an old idea.⁹ As Abhinava says: तेन वाणीनां काव्यवाक्यानां तावन्नवत्वमायाति तच्च प्रतिभानन्त्ये सत्युपपद्यते तच्चाथानन्त्ये तच्च ध्वनिप्रभेदात्¹⁰ । On another occasion Abhinava is equally explicit:—प्रतिभानां वाणीनां चानन्त्यं ध्वनिकृतम्¹¹ । It need hardly be explained that आनन्त्य and नवत्व are really two aspects of the same thing. If an idea or subject can be ever

⁹ ध्वनेर्यः सत्पुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यत्वाद्वा प्रदर्शितः । अनेनानन्त्यमायानि कवीनां प्रतिभागुणः ॥

अतो ह्यन्यतमेनापि प्रकारेण विभूषिता । वाणी नवत्वमायाति पूर्वार्थान्वयवत्यपि ॥

Dhvanyāloka, p. 522.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* *Locana*—p. 522.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 527.

freshened and made new (नव) by special treatment, it naturally becomes infinite and inexhaustible. That is why the words आनन्त्य and नवत्व occur so frequently in this section of the *Dhvanyāloka*.

This conception of novelty is amply illustrated by Anandavardhana. In the verse सविभ्रमस्मितोद्देहाः¹² four things are mentioned: Smiles, glances, speech and walk of the beloved. They are described directly. The words which describe them are used in their ordinary sense. To describe a smile as beautiful (सविभ्रम) a glance as लोल, speech as halting (प्रस्वलद्), and a walk as languid (अलस) is a direct way of saying something. But when another poet describes these very things as follows, he is using a new method: What in her who is touching her youth (सृशन्त्यास्ताश्चयम्) is not beautiful: the smile is innocent (स्मितं किञ्चिन्मुग्धम्), the wealth of her glances is restless and sweet (तरलमधुरो दृष्टिविभवः); the flow of her words is full of flavour due to the ever rising waves of wit in it (परिस्पन्दो वाचाभिनवविलासोर्मिसरसः)¹³. Here the words मुग्ध, मधुर, विभव, सरस, किसलयित, परमल, स्पर्शन, are not used in their usual sense. They have been deliberately used in other meanings for their suggestive value. They suggest a natural spontaneous beauty in the smile, an appeal to all and an inexhaustibility in the glances, a soothing and pleasing effect in the words, a dignity and grace in her walk, and an attractiveness and worthiness in her youth.¹⁴ These things have become new, and all because of the deliberate use of those words in meanings other than their usual ones. As Abhinava puts it: तै स्मितादेः प्रसिद्धस्यार्थस्य स्थविरवेधो विदितधर्म त्व्यतिरेकेण धर्मान्तरपात्रता यावत् क्रियते

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 524.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

¹⁴ तैरनाहृतसौन्दर्य—सार्वजनवाङ्मय—अक्षीणप्रसरत्व—सन्तापप्रशमन—तर्पकत्व—सौकुमार्य—सार्वकालिकतत्संस्कारानुवृत्तित्व—यत्नाभिलषणीयसङ्गतत्त्वानि ध्वन्यमानानि।

(*Ibid.*, p. 523).

तावदपूर्वमेव सम्पद्यते¹⁵. These words thus used present the smiles, etc., as associated with attributes different from those with which the Creator himself has endowed them. They have become new and the words which express them have originality because the poet has made use of अविवक्षितवान्यध्वनि in presenting an old idea.

But it is not always necessary to use words in other than their usual meanings to achieve novelty. There are other methods available, also coming under the general name of *Dhvani*. There is that famous verse of Amarukavi शून्यं वासगृहं विलोक्य etc. It has a march of its own, it describes a series of acts of the beloved and the whole verse is meant to suggest शृङ्गाररस and it does suggest शृङ्गार of the 'sambhoga' type in which there is mutual satisfaction. The verse of the later poet quoted by Anandavardhana is of the same type. It has the same march and it is also meant to suggest शृङ्गार. As the authorship of the verse is uncertain, it is not easy to say whether it has been influenced by Amaru's verse or not, but what Abhinava points out is that in spite of the influence the author has succeeded in making his treatment original. The 'rati' which is described is of a more refined type and in this process of refinement it has become new. In Abhinava's own words : तथापि प्रथमश्लोके परस्परामिलाषप्रसरनिरोधपरंपरापर्यवसानासंभवेन या रतिरुक्ता सोमयोरप्येकस्वरूपचित्तवृत्त्यनुप्रवेशमाचक्षाणा रतिं सुतरां पोषयति । (*Dhva.* p. 524).

It is not the type of love in which there is fulfilment of desires which is depicted here. It is of a more refined type. The lovers show restraint based on consideration for one another. There is complete harmony of feeling and attitude. This restraint makes the 'rati' altogether more beautiful, something totally new though the poet has used an ancient form to present it.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 523.

This brings Ānandavardhana on to a more comprehensive statement. The only way of freshening up old ideas is to make 'rasa' the central thing in a poem and make everything else subordinate to it. These other things would then automatically become new. Their novelty would consist in their serving a new purpose, that of developing and suggesting the 'rasa' on which the poet is concentrating his attention. It matters very little that these other elements can be observed in real life or have been described by other poets in their works. Provided that the poet has made the right use of these things taken from real life or from ancient literature he has managed to introduce originality in his work. Commenting on the word दृष्टपूर्वाः in the verse :

दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् ।

सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः¹⁶ ॥

Abhinava remarks : बहिः प्रत्यक्षादिभिः प्रमाणैः प्राक्तनैश्च कविभिरित्युभयथा नेयम् . The poet may take thoughts, ideas, and images either from his own observation and experience or from the works of other poets, but he has to freshen them up before they can become suggestive of the *rasa* which he wants his reader to experience. In the verse शेषो हिमगिरिस्त्वं च. etc., the idea that *Śeṣanāga* carries the burden of the Earth is expressed directly, i.e., through *अभिधा*. But when Bāṇa says घरणीघारणायाधुना त्वं शेषः, the word *Śeṣa* means *Śeṣanāga* only in the second stage. In other words, it comes through व्यञ्जना. Any idea which comes through व्यञ्जना, has a far greater charm than the same idea coming through *अभिधा*. The poet who takes an idea conveyed by an older poet through *अभिधा* and conveys it through व्यञ्जना in his work, all with a view to develop the 'rasa' or 'bhāva' on which he has concentrated his attention, has really made it a new thing. That is what Bāṇa has done

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

and, in this case, he not only uses व्यञ्जना but that variety of it which is based on शब्दशक्ति. Kālidāsa's method in the verse एवंवादिनि देवपैर् is very similar, except that here, व्यञ्जना is based on अर्थशक्ति. Compared to the anonymous verse "कृते वरकथालापे कुमार्यः पुलकोद्गमैः। सूचयन्ति स्पृहामन्तर्लज्जयावनताननाः ॥"¹⁷ where लज्जा and स्पृहा are openly expressed, Kālidāsa's stanza has a rare beauty; because here स्पृहा and लज्जा are व्यङ्ग्य and that is what makes them totally new. In the *Locana*, Abhinava gives a few instances of his own attempts to make old ideas new. "Wealth, rather exhausted by wandering from hand to hand of generous people, seems to take complete rest when it reaches misers."¹⁸ This is an old idea, says Abhinava. He makes it new by putting it as follows: "Is it right that not a moment's rest should be given to wealth which has come to you, you who are the only protector of those who are scared?"¹⁹ The idea of making uninterrupted gifts, directly expressed in the previous verse, is conveyed here by व्यञ्जना and that is what makes it new.

The verse सज्जेइ सुरहिमासो presents the effects of spring through व्यञ्जना. "Spring, we are told, gets ready but does not deliver the arrows of Cupid, the mango-blossoms, whose points have young women as their targets." This verse does not openly speak of the effects of spring on youth; it just suggests them, and that is why they appear fresh compared to the same things conveyed through अभिधा in the verse: सुरभिसमये प्रवृत्ते सहसा प्रादुर्मवन्ति रमणीयाः। रागवतामुत्कलिकाः सदैव सहकारकलिकाभिः ॥ By openly mentioning रागवतामुत्कलिकाः, the effects of spring, the writer has spoiled his verse. As

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

¹⁸ चाइअणपरंपरासंचारणरेव अतिःसहसरीराः।
अत्या किवणधरत्या संस्थावत्या सुवन्तीव ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536.

¹⁹ भअविहलरक्खणे कमलसरणागआणं अत्थाणं।
खणमत्तं वि ण दिण्णा विस्सामकेहत्ति जुत्तमिणम् ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 535.

Abhinava puts it : शब्दस्पृष्टेऽर्थे का ह्यद्यता.²⁰ The effects of spring, as presented by the previous verse, appear fresh, not only because they are व्यङ्ग्य but also because the poet talks about spring getting arrows ready and not delivering them. This presentation of spring as something which is सचेतन is an additional cause of the novelty of the effects of spring described in that verse. The प्रौढोक्ति of the poet has intervened to add to the novelty.

The secret, then, of making everything new in poetry is to make one 'rasa' the अङ्गिरस and make everything subordinate to it. "अङ्गिभूतरसाद्याश्रयेण काव्ये क्रियमाणे नवार्थलामो भवति । बन्धच्छाया च महती संपद्यते ॥" Ānandavardhana claims that this has been done by Vālmiki in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and by Vyāsa in the *Mahābhārata*. *Karuna* is the main *rasa* in the former work and *śānta* in the latter.

So far we have seen that presenting an idea as व्यङ्ग्य makes it new. That is ordinarily the case. But there is no hard and fast rule about it. Sometimes, it is the वाच्य which appears as new and the व्यङ्ग्य seems rather hackneyed and commonplace. The verse :

मुनिर्जयति योगीन्द्रो महात्मा कुम्भसंभवः ।

येनैकचुलुके दृष्टौ तौ दिव्यौ मत्स्यकच्छपौ ॥²¹

is an instant in point. Here the वाच्य is that the sage Agastya saw the divine fish and tortoise in one palmful of water. The व्यङ्ग्य is the presence of the whole ocean in a palmful of water. The whole object of the verse is to express a भाव, the writer's devotion to sage Agastya. 'Adbhutarasa' is only a means to achieve this end, but in suggesting this *rasa*, the वाच्य plays a greater part than the व्यङ्ग्य, mainly because it is not so hackneyed. As Ānanda puts it : अत्र ह्येकचुलुके जलनिधिसन्निधानादपि दिव्यमत्स्यकच्छपदर्शं नमन्तुरणत्वादभूतरसानुगुणतरम्.²² Thus, अन्तुरणत्व, the fact of not being

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 528.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 534.

hackneyed, of being something new, this is what makes an idea suggestive of 'rasa', and here it belongs to the वाच्य and not to the व्यङ्ग्य. Nor is the वाच्य what is called an 'alaṅkāra'. If there is something new about an idea, it does not matter whether it is a वस्तु or अलङ्कार. It can perform fully its task of suggesting the रस or भाव in question.

Sometimes the व्यङ्ग्य, when analysed, is found to be an 'alaṅkāra' or a picturesque idea. It beautifies the वाच्य and thus becomes a cause of novelty in the poem. As Abhinava puts it : अलङ्कारेण व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्योपस्कारे नवत्वम् ²³, and gives a verse of his own as an example. That even wise people should experience hunger, thirst, desire, jealousy, and fear of death, is an old idea. But Abhinava freshens it up by putting it as follows : "Your hair, like swarms of bees mad in spring, used to awaken my love. Now that they are grey like ashes in a crematorium, why don't they lead to detachment?" ²⁴ Here two ideas are suggested, both picturesque ideas or 'alaṅkāras' : (1) कारणाभावे पि काम एव वर्धते (विभावना), (2) कामस्य महिमा वर्णयितुमशक्यः (आक्षेपः); and they beautify and freshen up the openly expressed meaning of the verse. As Abhinava puts it : अत्र ह्याक्षेपेण विभावनय च ध्वन्यमानाभ्यां वाच्यमुपस्कृतमिति नवत्वं सत्यपि पुराणार्थयोक्तिरेव. Similarly, it is an old idea that one whose body is withered through old age may still have no detachment from the things of the world, because of his illusory belief that there is no such thing as death. ²⁵ Abhinava makes it new by putting it in the following way : "This is not old age which is found on the head. It is the black serpent of Time.

²³ क्षुत्तृष्णाकाममात्सर्यं मरणाच्च महदमयम् ।

पंचैतानि विवर्धन्ते वार्धके विदुषामपि ॥

²⁴ वसन्तमत्तालिपरंपरोपमाः कचास्तवासन् किल रागवृद्धये ।

इमशानभूभागपरागभासुराः कथं तदेतै न मनाग्विरक्तये ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536.

²⁷ जराजीर्णशरीरस्य वैराग्यं यन्न जायते ।

तन्नूनं हृदये मृत्युर्दृष्टास्तीति निश्चयः ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 537

which, blind with anger emits the white foam of poison. Man sees it and yet is happy and does not seek a way out. Strange indeed is man's bondage."²⁶ Abhinava himself tells us what is new in this: अत्राद्भुतेन व्यङ्ग्येन वाच्यमुपस्कृतं शान्तरसप्रतिपत्यङ्गत्वाच्चारु भवतीति नवत्वं सत्यप्यस्मिन्पुराणश्लोके²⁷. The sense of wonder at the vanity of human beings is here suggested and it freshens up the old idea which is directly expressed. Thus freshened, it becomes fit to suggest the *śāntarasa*, which is the main purpose of the poet.

It is not merely through व्यञ्जना that things attain freshness. Things in the world, both sentient and insentient, possess infinite richness and variety, based on differences of Time, Space, Circumstances, and Individuality, and all this, when described directly through अस्मिन्वाच्येन is quite enough to provide ever new material for poetry. Pārvatī is described so many times in the *Kumārasambhava* and the description appears to be quite fresh each time. "The graces of poetry are as endless as those of the beloved,"²⁸ says Ānanda in his *Viśamabāṇalīlā*, a work in which he seems to have put into practice some of his critical teachings, and the loss of which is, therefore, most regrettable. All insentient things can be described in terms of sentient things. In fact poets all over the world have taken a delight in doing so and Ānanda tells us that he has shown the way in this matter to later poets in his *Viśamabāṇalīlā*. In the examples discussed above, we saw how single ideas or images can be made new by conveying them through

²⁶ जरा नेत्रं मूर्ध्नि ध्रुवमयमसौ कालसुजगः
 क्रुधान्धः फूत्कारैः स्फुटगरलफेनान् प्रकिरति ।
 तदेनं संप्रयत्यथ च सुखितम्मन्यहृदयः ।
 शिवोपायनेच्छन् बत बत सुधीरः खलु जनः ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 536.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 537.

²⁸ एतावत् घटश्च ओही ए अ ते दीप्तन्ति कह वि पुनरुत्ता ।
 जे विन्ममा पिआणं अत्थो वा सुकइवाणीणम् ॥—*Ibid.*, p. 539.

व्यञ्जना and relating them to the 'rasa' in question. It is not enough to handle single ideas in this manner. Stories taken from ancient legends have to be freshened up and intimately related to the 'rasa'. Thus, the story as a whole, the प्रबन्ध, apart from its parts acquires suggestiveness. This topic is dealt with by Ānandavardhana in *Kārikas* 10-14 of the 3rd *Udyota* of the *Dhvanyāloka*. The method is quite simple, and has been followed by poets all over the world. The poet takes the material from the accumulated stores of legend of his race. He sets to work all that he judges unnecessary, or unfit, to add all that is lacking and, finally, without effort, almost without consciousness of his power, he endows his work with his own personal quality in the act of making it serve his own purpose, 'rasa'. It is this which ensures originality. The inheritance of a poet may be great and his resemblances may be numerous and easily perceived, but if they all are properly related to the 'rasa' which he wants to develop they all become his own.

The foregoing remarks have shown that many are the ways in which novelty can be introduced in poetry and that the fear of staleness based on the idea of 'वर्णनीयस्य पारिमित्यम्' is groundless. As Ānandavardhana concludes : इत्थं यथा यथा निरूप्यते तथा तथा न लभ्यतेऽन्तः काव्यार्थानाम्²⁹.

But all this removes only the first theoretical difficulty raised at the beginning of this paper. There remains the second one, based on the nature of words. In this view words are supposed to be capable only of expressing the universal aspect of things, figuring in the experience of everybody and not that infinite richness and variety which belongs to the individualities of things. But the objection is really not valid. It goes against the fundamental fact that we do experience novelty in the work of some poets.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 544.

Nor would it do to say that the novelty is confined to the way of saying things, and not to the things themselves. An expression is a set of words denoting something. The connection between expression and things expressed is so close that any novelty in the one implies novelty in the other. Secondly, all the things which are described by the words of the poet do seem to correspond to what one has oneself observed of the rich individuality of things. The description must, therefore, have some originality. If we concede originality to even one poet after Vālmīki, the inexhaustibility of things is proved.³⁰

Secondly, the statement that words denote the general and universal aspect of things may be true of individual words taken in isolation. But that is not true of sentences which are the real units of speech. Sentences denote particulars and not universals, according to all views, though scholars may differ as to the exact nature of these particulars and the exact way in which they express them. अभिहितान्वय and अन्विताभिधान both agree that '*viśeṣa*' is the meaning of a sentence and not '*sāmānya*.' If that is right the whole basis of the objection falls to the ground.³¹

This way of looking at novelty explains why Ānanda-vardhana is not prepared to condemn outright the poet who takes ideas from the works of previous writers. Everything depends on how he does it. There are some poets who merely change the words but retain the same idea at least partly. The difference between : जयन्ति नीलकण्ठस्य नीलाः कण्ठे महाहयः and ते पान्तु वःप शुपतेरलिनीलभासः। कण्ठप्रदेशवटिताः फणिनः

³⁰ वाल्मीकिव्यतिरिक्तस्य यद्येकस्यापि कस्याचित् ।

इष्यते प्रतिभार्थेषु तत्तदानन्त्यमक्षयम् ॥ — *Ibid.*, p. 543.

³¹ तेनायमर्थः । पदानां तावत् सामान्ये वा तद्वति वापोहे वा यत्र कुत्रापि वस्तुनि समयः । विमनेन वादान्तरेण । वाक्यात्तावद् विशेषः प्रतीयते इति कस्यात्र वादिनो विमतिः । अन्विताभिधानतद्विपर्ययसंसर्गभेदादिवाक्यार्थपक्षेऽपि सर्वत्र विशेषस्याप्रत्याख्येयत्वात् । — *Ibid.*, p. 542.

स्फुरन्तः ॥ is only in the words. No such transformation of the idea has taken place as we noticed in the various examples of novelty discussed above. This kind of resemblance is called प्रतिविम्बकल्प by Ānandavardhana who condemns it as तार्त्त्विकइशिरशून्यं³² which is explained by Abhinava thus: न हि तेन किञ्चिदपूर्वमुत्प्रेक्षितं प्रतिविम्बमप्येवमेव³³ Not all cases of प्रतिविम्बकल्प are so clear. Sometimes the details are given in a different order, or some of the details are omitted, or a detail is elaborately described, or the old idea is expressed in a stanza of a different metre, and so on. Howsoever it is done, it is only the externals, the sound elements, which are different. The idea remains the same.³⁴ It is not made new through the intervention of *Dhvani*. Sometimes an attempt is made to make the idea itself new. In the example of प्रतिविम्बकल्प given above, there is mention of black snakes hanging round the neck of Śiva. But if the imitation were like this:—जयन्ति धवलव्यालाः शम्भोर्जूटावलम्बिनः, the change would not only be in the words, but in the idea also. The new verse speaks about white snakes hanging from the head, instead of black snakes hanging from the neck. Writers like Rājaśekhara approve of this kind of change. “सोऽयमनुग्राह्यो मार्गः”³⁵ he says. He may have had young people aspiring to be poets in mind. He may have thought that this kind of literary activity would give them practice. But Ānanda and Abhinava have a higher standard. They disapprove of this kind also. It is called आलेख्यप्रख्य ‘picture-like.’ Ānanda calls it तुच्छात्म. It is obviously a kind of imitation and the remarks of Abhinava are characteristic: अनुकारे ह्यनुकार्यबुद्धिरेव चित्रपुस्तकादाविव, न तु सिन्दूरादिबुद्धिः स्फुरति । सापि न चारुत्वाय । There are many kinds

³² *Ibid.*, p. 547.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 547.

³⁴ See *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 66-65.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

of it. Sometimes the original contains *alankāras* the imitation leaves them out, or the original mentions a general idea and the imitation cites particular instances or the imitation lays particular emphasis on what is a mere detail in the original, and so on.³⁶ All these varieties have one thing in common: in spite of the slight change in the original idea, there is no transformation of it through *Dhvani*. Hence the Dhvanikāra condemns it. It is the third kind of resemblance called 'तुल्यदेहि तुल्य' which he really approves. Here the resemblance of the later work to the former is like that of the face to the moon. It has an individuality, a charm of its own. All the examples of novelty which we have already discussed must come within this category. Rājasekhara also approves of it, though Ānandavardhana would probably take objection to some of the examples which he gives. He would miss the presence of *Dhvani* in them.

The novelty discussed in this paper is of the relative kind. Something has come down traditionally and the problem is how to make it new and incorporate it in the new work. There is another kind of novelty, the absolute kind in which the poet's ideas and images bear no kind of resemblance to those of previous writers. They are the outright creations of the new poet, who is a genius. There are not many who are capable of such creations and the few who exist are the favourites of the Goddess Sarasvatī herself. As Ānandavardhana says:

परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः ।

सरस्वत्यैवैषा घटयति यथेष्टं भगवती ॥

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69—71.

RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : A REVIEW

By P. T. RAJU

(Continued from page 248)

Yet scholars are not wanting who studied Indian Philosophy for philosophy's sake and who could make a philosophical use of the Indian concepts. In 1802 Alexander Hamilton, while returning from India to England, was interned in Paris during the war. There he found Fr. Schlegel, whom he taught Sanskrit and who later wrote "*On the Language and the Wisdom of the Indians.*" Thus was the existence of Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy brought to the notice of the Germans. In 1802 Anquetil Duperon translated the *Upaniṣads* from the Persian version, which later influenced Schelling and Schopenhauer. Through Schelling we may say even Hegel was influenced by the Upaniṣadic ideas. But the reaction of Hegel to Indian thought is rather critical and he places in his *History of Philosophy* the whole of oriental philosophy including the Indian, very low in the development of the Idea. He writes, for instance, "Individuality, indeed, is not elevated to personality, but the power unfolds wildly enough as inconsistency of the passing over to the opposite; we are in a realm of unbridled madness,—where the commonest presence is directly raised to the (status) of something divine and the substance is imagined as existing in infinite form, and no less immediately what has form is sublimated into the formless."⁶ This passage is a criticism in the peculiar Hegelian language of the so-called Hindu pantheism and the identification of the *Brahman* and the world. We have to note that Max

⁶ Translation by Schrader.

Müller's work was not born by that time and Hegel had little knowledge of our systematic philosophy. Even in Schelling we do not find any explicit use made of the Indian philosophical concepts. Probably Schlegel, the philosopher, and Novalis in his magical idealism were greatly influenced by Indian thought as they understood it. But in Schopenhauer we find explicit use made of the concept of *Māyā* in his great philosophical work, *The World as Will and Idea*.⁷ This concept he understood as the principle of individuality, and just as Indian Philosophy preaches liberation from *Māyā* he preached liberation from individuality. We should therefore say that he put the concept to philosophical use and that his motive in studying Indian Philosophy was philosophical. In the case of Schelling even if he incorporated the idea of the undifferentiated *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads* into his Philosophy of Identity, the latter appears and is presented by the historians as a more natural development out of Fichte's philosophy than due to an adoption of the idea of the *Brahman*. But in Schopenhauer the adoption is deliberate and explicit.

Some of Paul Deussen's work also comes under this category. His *System of the Vedānta* is really the best of the earliest interpretations of the philosophy of Śaṅkara from a purely philosophical standpoint. But we do find similar other interpretations by later scholars of the West. Oldenberg's *Buddha* shows fine philosophical insight. But Deussen's study of Indian Philosophy went farther and resulted in his constructive work, *Elements of Metaphysics*, which is a reconciliation and synthesis of Kant, Schopenhauer, Plato and Śaṅkara. One may or may not accept his theories, but the translation of the work into all the Indian languages will be the best inauguration of pure

⁷ Vol. III, p. 418. There are numerous references to the word. See *Index*.

philosophical literature in them. We should, therefore, say that Duessen's interest also in Indian Philosophy was philosophical.

But the names of scholars whose interest is really philosophical are not many. This is to the detriment of Indian philosophical research. In the absence of philosophical interest, even the attempts at sympathetic appreciation appear laboured. Though misinformed and critical, a professional philosopher's understanding of Indian Philosophy would be philosophically more valuable than that of a mere orientalist.

Particularly when we are dealing with Westerners we should not overlook men who have discovered for us, through a spirit of adventure, many philosophical works especially in Buddhism. They ventured at great risk to their lives into far-off lands like Mongolia, Tibet, and Annam and brought for us philosophical treasures. A young Hungarian, Csoma, for instance, was the first to venture into Tibet and read *Kahgyur* and *Bstanggyur*. Most of such adventurers were Christian missionaries.

The discovery of oriental literature and philosophy, particularly Buddhistic, gave birth to a number of academies in many of the European countries, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France, England, America, and even Poland. Professorships were instituted in Sanskrit in many of the important European universities, and great names like those of Garbe, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Jacobi and Max Walleser in Germany, Bühler in Austria, Tucci in Italy, Poussin and Levi in France, Carpenter, Max Müller and Macdonell, Keith, and Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids in England, Bloomfield and Lanman in America, Winternitz in Czechoslovakia and Calland in Holland, etc., etc., became famous throughout the world of Sanskrit scholarship. Yet the interest remained merely antiquarian. These

scholars felt that they were interpreting to the world what was ancient and surviving as such. Few as yet of the ideas which they claim to have discovered are found worthy of adoption by their philosophers. They are only interpreting or evaluating alien ideas in terms of their own philosophical concepts. Such work done on the best available scientific lines so far discovered in the West has certainly its uses. It has stimulated the orientals to themselves make a scientific study of their religions and philosophies. But the use of this work is very limited in the hands of the occidentals. It is limited to an understanding of the old and goes no farther.

III

Such work has revived the Indian's interest in Indian Philosophy, and the adoption of the scientific method of approach made him maintain an objective attitude to the subject. And this attitude in him does not result in unsympathetic evaluation. In the case of the Western scholar where he exerts himself to be sympathetic the result has the appearance of laboriousness and artificiality. But it has a naturalness in the Indian. For instance, Mrs. Rhys Davids in her writings is very sympathetic to Indian thought. Reviewing Betty Heimann's *Indian and Western Philosophy* she writes: "We say, in the matter of unlikeness, a shepherd sees sheep as different where we see all looking alike. Yet, were we to discuss sheep-philosophy with him, we should be sure to hear much about the ways of 'sheep,' wherein is likeness rather than the reverse. Let us hope that the author will now consider, not the reverse but the likeness. We speak, we write philosophically to elicit what is true in man as we find him. And to do that we must not merely consider him as he is, for that is only what he seems

to be . . .^{7a} But if we compare her exposition of Buddhistic doctrines with that of Radhakrishnan, Dasgupta or a Japanese scholar, we see the difference. However technical may be the topic there is some naturalness in the latter.

The revival of Indian interest in Indian thought, which is part of Indian Renaissance, led to the founding of a number of oriental societies in India for the promotion of oriental studies. Poona, Calcutta, and Benares, we may say, have done the best work in India, and the Punjab and Madras followed. Later many Indian princes started and financed their Indian series, in Travancore, Baroda, Kashmir, etc., but the work was mainly confined to editing and translating. Then Indian Philosophy was introduced into the Indian universities, became one of the general subjects for M.A., and in course of time entered the lists for specialisation, which created opportunities for intensive study. But the methods and motives remained the same: the study was an antiquarian study. The students were content with drawing a few comparisons, finding out a few parallels between Indian and European philosophers. If one looks through some of the early question papers on Indian Philosophy, one finds that the examiners wanted to encourage any comparison, however superficial. And the branding of Indian doctrines by western scholars long remained a hindrance to a true philosophical understanding. For the tendency of the Indian student was to call a system by the name given by a western scholar first and then discover all the support for it in its concepts, while the true procedure should have been first to understand the concepts and then give a name.

But in spite of these drawbacks, there has been real advance in the quality of research. In the beginning of

^{7a} *Philosophy*, April, 1938, p. 241.

the Renaissance, when the Indians themselves began taking interest in their philosophy, the work with which they were mostly occupied was editing and translation. The unearthing of ancient manuscripts was as valuable as the discovery of X-rays in physics. There is justification for this attitude. Especially in Buddhism the discovery of manuscripts was as difficult as of X-rays. Buddhism was expelled from India; its original works, except those of the Hīnayāna in Pali, which were preserved in Ceylon, were mostly lost. A few were to be found in some remote corners of India like Nepal. The rest could be found mainly in translation in China, Tibet and Japan. As regards the orthodox Hindu systems, the Pandit, in whose custody they were, was loth to explain, much more to hand over the manuscripts to a non-Hindu. We can therefore easily imagine how difficult it must have been to procure them. Till 1820 little was known about Buddhism. In 1821, B. H. Hodgson, Resident in Nepal, got a number of Sanskrit books printed and transcribed. About that time Csoma, a young Hungarian, ventured into Tibet to learn of Buddhism. L. J. Schmidt of the Academy of St. Petersburg ascertained in 1829 that there were Buddhist works in the Mongolian language, which were translations from the Tibetan. M. Stanislas Julien about the same time gave a list of about one thousand Chinese translations. We can therefore understand that the discovery of the presence of manuscripts in that age constituted serious research. And translation and simple exposition, which to many now may appear philosophically not very important, received high applause and recognition both in universities and outside. Now we possess extensive material even in Buddhism, thanks to the labours of many academies and societies, published in series like the Pali Text Society Series, Bibliotheca Buddhica, The Sacred Books of the East, The

Harward Oriental Series. The Gaekwad Oriental Series, etc., etc. The present task of the Indian philosopher is not so much the procuring of manuscripts as understanding and interpreting the published works. The same remarks hold true of Hindu systems.

The first step towards a metaphysical understanding of Indian Philosophy was drawing comparisons between it and European philosophy. Hence it is an advance beyond editing and translating. To know one's own philosophy without knowing another's is as good as not knowing. In this sense a comparative understanding is very useful. But a more important reason is that Indians have begun to think and act in English. So unless they understand their thought in English they cannot be intellectually satisfied. The first step towards a philosophical understanding of Indian Philosophy in English is to draw comparisons between Indian and European Philosophers, in spite of all the pitfalls the procedure may have. This is really entering pure metaphysics as distinguished from religion and theology, in the discussions of which faith and sentiment wield too great an influence. Even then the attitude of the antiquarian has not been left back.

IV

Research that is now in vogue in India may roughly be classed into the following kinds: First, there is the discovery of manuscripts and editing and publication. This kind of work is not now given so high a recognition as it was in the beginning. Secondly, there is pure faithful translation in which Sir Ganganatha Jha, M.M. Kaviraj, Dr. Venis, Dr. Thibaut and many others have done immense work. Some of these savants have their misgivings about comparisons, which they say often mislead. Then there is pure exposition without reference to

European systems. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta has done a vast amount of such work, and his volumes on the *History of Indian Philosophy* will remain a standard work. There is, fourthly, interpretation with comparisons, which is distinctive of Sir Radhakrishnan's work. And as an expounder of India to the West he has not been so far excelled. Fifthly, there is the work done and advocated by the author, which is systematic comparison, with a view to future philosophical development. Sixthly, there are independent developments, which are constructions without bearings to any Indian or European system. Professor K. C. Bhattacharya's work falls under this class. Lastly, there is the work like that of Dr. H. Halder, claiming no connexion with Indian thought.⁸ Of these the first four constitute the bulk of work that is being done. The last is avowedly European philosophy. The sixth contains some misty speculations, which as they seem to be shot through a pistol without bearings and explanations perplex and puzzle the reader. But some recent work like Malkani's *Self* and the enunciation of personal beliefs as in *Contemporary Indian Philosophy* may lead to intelligible working out of independent systems. Though Malkani is an advaitin, his work is not a mere exposition of Śaṅkara. As regards the fifth kind, much work really needs to be done. For real developments can take place only when the underlying logical structures of the systems are laid bare through systematic comparison. Very often comparative understanding results in a new comprehension of concepts. I do not mean a new understanding of ancient fossilised concepts, but a deeper and clearer understanding of concepts in current use. This

⁸It should not be understood that the authors mentioned under the above heads have done no other kind of work. The classification is based on the bulk of their work. Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, for instance, is doing creative work also.

is due to differing approaches made by Indian and Western philosophers to the same idea. For instance, the concept of negation does not mean different things to the Indian and Western logicians, but their approaches to the understanding of it are different. When we study both we see a new significance emerging, which would be identical neither with what the Western logicians mean nor with what the Indian does, but comprehends both and becomes deeper and an improvement. Such studies would be of current logical interest, and the student would be surprised to see new meanings and find how easily comparison clears tangled webs.⁹

Somehow so much interest is not evinced in comparative philosophy as in comparative religion; for one feels it easier to handle religious ideas than the philosophical. Yet if Indian Philosophy is to obtain an equal recognition with the European, however hard the task, it cannot be avoided. When the author discussed the point with a well-known Indian philosopher, the latter expressed his opinion that for a systematic comparative study we have to wait some more decades, during which time stray comparisons would be completed. But stray comparisons will always remain stray and much of them will not fit into systematic work. What I mean by systematic work is comparison that develops itself from an all-comprehensive standpoint. Some idea of it will be obtained if one sees the plan of Masson-Oursel's work *Comparative Philosophy*. This work includes not only the philosophies of India and the West but also of the other countries. The study is systematic. We hear of principles of comparative religion; but we have not heard of any principles of comparative philosophy. And the only work worth the

⁹ Cf. the author's "The Reality of Negation." *The Philosophical Review*, Vol. L. Nos. 6 and 4; "The Buddhist Conception of Negation," *Proceedings of the Oriental Conference*, 1941.

name is Masson-Oursel's. The author's work, *Thought and Reality: Hegelianism and Advaita*, and his stray papers do not deal with such principles. Sir S. Radhakrishnan's *Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, which is a scholarly comparison of general standpoints and outlooks, is also not a discussion of principles. Undoubtedly, if any principles are to be discovered, they can be discovered only through systematic comparison, which should be the foundation. But by itself it cannot disclose the principles. When a systematic approach is also made, the principles reveal themselves. As in the case of every subject, the work of the beginner will contain defects and mistakes, which will have to be corrected by later scholars. Correction would be possible only when the work is systematic. My meaning will perhaps be clearer if I say that we need not only systematic comparisons but also a system of comparative principles.

The necessity for such work can be shown by asking why it is necessary to find out similarities and not differences when we compare two philosophies. In answer to the quotation above given from Mrs. Rhys Davids' review of Dr. Heimann's work, if Dr. Heimann asks why she should discover likenesses and not differences between Indian and Western philosophy, the only reply can be that comparative philosophy requires such study, which will have to show that man is man for all the differences. Otherwise, Dr. Heimann may well say that seeking differences is as good a study as any other.

But the general suspicion of comparative study in the minds of great savants like Sir Ganganatha Jha, M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj, and even Dr. S. N. Dasgupta, is not without reason. Comparative work began with the pointing out of mere superficial similarities, which often proved impediments to correct understanding. Indiscrete adoption of labels like subjective idealism, pantheism, etc.,

brought with them a mass of associations, which the student blindly accepted and much of the labour of the research worker was wasted in searching for concepts corresponding to these associations. This mistake is found in as recent a work as Dr. Urquhart's *Vedanta and Modern Thought*. How is it that in spite of repeated utterances of *tattvamasi* and *aham brahmāsmi*, the Indian advaitin does not feel that he is a subjective idealist? If a reason can be given, that will distinguish Śaṅkara's idealism from the subjective. If theological idealism could be differentiated from the subjective, why not Śaṅkara's as well? However, hundreds of pages must have been written on Śaṅkara's so-called subjective idealism, scepticism, agnosticism, Indian pantheism, absence of ethical outlook, etc., etc., which these savants must have viewed with suspicion and perhaps with some amusement.

Though comparison naturally begins with the picking out of superficial similarities, it should not stop there; and only when it stops there, is criticism justified. Naturally at the beginning we are misled by external appearances. Our insight into the concepts cannot be deep enough. Moreover, when the westerner approaches Indian thought, his tendency at every stage is to subsume all ideas under the philosophical concepts with which he is familiar. The same would be the tendency of the Indian reading Western philosophy. For example, when the author was reading Muirhead's *Ethics* and came across the definition that will is the self in movement, he could make out nothing. For how can self (*ātman*) move? Mind (*manas*) only can move. But when he came to learn that mind and self meant the same in Western thought, he could see the reasonableness of the definition. When big themes are dealt with even misunderstandings are published. We have probably to say that the spreading of even misunderstandings is a necessary step towards

better understanding; for without conflict and critical reaction deeper insight cannot be won.

In truth a philosophical understanding of Indian Philosophy, if we are to understand it at all in English, is impossible without using Western philosophical terminology and therefore Western philosophical concepts. But to use Western philosophical concepts is implicitly to make comparisons. Hence even simple translation is in a sense comparison. Simple and direct translation which avoids the use of fine idioms and flourishes involves the least comparison. Even then the difference is only one of degree not of kind. Simple direct translation uses popular language with simple concepts. But one having an acquaintance with semantics can easily see that two different languages mean different outlooks; and however simple be the language which the translator uses, he must tacitly be interpreting one philosophy in terms of another. This is particularly so where Indian and Western thought are concerned. It is true that the Indo-Germanic languages form one group, and at the origin ideas and their associations which the languages express must have been the same or akin. But after the Sanskrit-speaking people separated themselves from those who migrated into Europe the ideas developed so independently that some words having the same root mean differently and those which have apparently the same meaning differ in their associations and deeper significance. This is particularly so in the sphere of the mental; consider, for instance, the word mind itself, with which philosophy is especially concerned.

Urban writes: "Linguists, as distinguished from logicians, have uniformly distinguished other forms of connotation of words than the conceptual. . . Thus Erdmann points that besides the *Bedeutung* of words there is always *Nebenbedeutung*. Both are forms of connotation. The

first is the indirect reference to the ideas with which the word is bound up as sign; the second also is indirect reference, but to the feeling with which the word is bound up as expression. This *Nebenbedeutung* is not referred to a particular emotion, but rather to an accumulated intention, sentiment or mood, and it is because of this accumulated intention, that the reference may properly be called a form of connotation. But Erdmann also distinguishes an intuitive or *anschauliche* connotation from both the conceptual and emotional."¹⁰ This intuition is somewhat like the intuition of melody, not like the intuition of images. Further, "many linguists maintain . . . that for genuine understanding of language there must also be what they describe as 'inner speech-form.' This notion, first introduced into linguistics by von Humboldt to distinguish the unique character of particular languages from the elements common to all languages, is now quite generally used to signify those peculiar patterns which distinguish the linguistic feeling of one people from another."¹¹ "What, then, are the conditions of understanding of speech or of semantic meaning? Husserl has examined these conditions and finds them to consist of two, namely, *Gestalt* and intention."¹² *Gestalt* is the language pattern and intention is the intention of the person who uses the word to mean something. This meaning is of the above three kinds. The test for a translator, therefore, would be whether his translation flows through the same patterns of linguistic feeling, whether the ideas of his translation produce the same patterns of understanding or thought and how far it reproduces the above three kinds of meaning. Can it

¹⁰ *Language and Reality*, pp. 139-40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

then be in principle possible to bring out the full meaning of philosophical systems in simple translation? Will it not be necessary every now and then to introduce explanatory parentheses? Are not western misunderstandings really due to dependence on translations and inacquaintance with our original thought-patterns? Translation therefore does not mean merely the substitution of one word for another, or one sentence for another, but also of one pattern of linguistic feeling for another and of one pattern of thinking for another. How difficult would a Hindu architect feel if he were asked to construct, using his own patterns of gods, devils and dragons, a temple which would produce the impression of a Gothic cathedral? The work of a translator who wants to present an Indian system of philosophy in English is similar. What the contemporary Indian researcher should realise is that an adequate presentation is not possible without explanatory comparisons,—which means explicit discussion of what is implicitly involved in using a different language. Systematic comparison goes only one step farther, with this advantage that the systematic structure of thought will be made more clearly explicit. The importance of explanatory and also of systematic comparison will be more realised when it is seen that words as verbal signs are mobile and transfer themselves from one object to another, not only from the physical to the physical, but also from the physical to the psychical. The significance which the word Reality has when it is written with a capital R is an example to the point. And it is never possible to confine oneself in translation to the words and concepts of the common people. For, says Joad: "Language was invented to serve the use of the familiar world; it may not readily be invoked to convey the meanings appropriate to another."¹³

¹³ *Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science*, p. 307.

Or to quote Whitehead, a greater authority, "literary language breaks down completely in the task of expressing in explicit form the larger generalities."¹⁴ Further, to touch the very fundamentals, the logical structure of thought and the grammatical structure of language are different. Had European logic developed out of Sanskrit, it would probably have not thought of the copula. It took several centuries to realise that the copula has no distinct corresponding element in thought. How difficult would then the translator feel in translating abstract thought from one language into another? Very often we find it necessary not only to say what we mean but also to say what we do not mean. What else do we in essence do when we compare? And if we are to compare, will it not be profitable to carry the comparison wholeheartedly, explicitly and systematically?

V

There is another way of classifying research work in Indian Philosophy, namely, into the historical and the metaphysical. For instance, Vidyabhushan's *History of Indian Logic* is a historical presentation; it traces the growth of Indian logic. But Stcherbatsky's *Buddhist Logic* is a metaphysical treatment; for it gives a metaphysical discussion of the principles. (Indeed, it contains some translations also.) The metaphysical is

¹⁴ *Process and Reality*, p. 14. "The technical language of philosophy represents attempts of various schools of thought to obtain explicit expression of general ideas presupposed by the facts of experience. It follows that any novelty in metaphysical doctrine exhibits some measure of disagreement with statements of facts to be found in current philosophical literature. The extent of disagreement measures the extent of metaphysical divergence. It is, therefore, no valid metaphysical criticism to point out that its doctrines do not follow from the verbal expression of the facts accepted by another school." Whitehead is speaking of two philosophical systems in the same language and of the same age!

certainly more difficult than the historical, particularly when systems are interpreted. For instance, one may trace the development of Rāmānuja's philosophy out of the Pañcarātra; another may expound his principles, when he will use such ideas as identity in difference, organic unity, etc. The latter work is philosophically more important and difficult. How many times must a reader come across writings in which these concepts are applied, without any modification to Rāmānuja's philosophy. And how many readers must have been misled by them? An organic unity in western philosophy is not merely an inseparable unity of parts, but also a unity in which the whole and parts are equally dependent on each other. In identity in difference both identity and difference are equally important. Will Rāmānuja's system be not different at all from the organic conception of the universe of the west?¹⁵ Will not a writer find, if he has to be careful and precise, metaphysical interpretation more taxing than tracing the growth of a system?

But of late this metaphysical presentation and comparative study have assumed undesirable forms. There is manifestation of a zeal to discover all new theories of the west in our ancient thought, which should necessarily produce a distaste for such work in the minds of many deep-thinking scholars and predispose them towards the historical type. One feels it very delicate to give examples when some of the authors are one's friends; yet one's duty to the subject impels one to give a few. It is hoped that it will not be forgotten that philosophical criticism is an academic necessity.

[To be continued.]

¹⁵ See the author's "Identities in Difference in Some Vedantic Sentences," *The New Indian Antiquary*.

GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YASASTILAKA CAMPŪ

By V. RAGHAVAN

(Continued from p. 258)

which is useful as mentioning a person trying to parade his knowledge of the 64 arts and moving in company with the scissors for *Patraccheda* always in hand. §1. 236 :
ज्ञानन् पत्रच्छेदनम् ।

Pp. 236-7 : A number of authorities on various branches of learning are mentioned here :

पारिरक्षक इव प्रसंख्यानोपदेशेषु,		
पूज्यपाद इव शब्दैतिह्येषु,		
×	×	×
अकलङ्कदेव इव प्रमाणशास्त्रेषु,		
पाणिपुत्र इव पदप्रयोगेषु,		
कविरिव राजराट्टान्तेषु,		
रोमपाद इव गजविद्यासु,		
रेवत इव हयनयेषु,		
×	×	×
शुकनाश इव रत्नपरीक्षासु,		
×	×	×
काशिराज इव शरीरोपचारेषु,		
×	×	×
काव्य इव व्यूहरचनासु,		
दत्तक इव कन्तुसिद्धान्तेषु,		
चन्द्रायणीश इव अपरास्वपि कलासु etc.		

Śrīdeva says that Pārirakṣaka means Yati, a Saṁnyāsin; probably Pārirakṣaka refers to the author of the *Bhikṣu-sūtras* mentioned by Pāṇini. Pūjyapāda is Devanandin, author of *Jainendraavyākaraṇa*. Akalaṅka the Jain logician is wellknown; Śrutadeva says here अकलंकदेवो निष्कलंकस्य भ्राता । Śrīdeva reads पाणिपुत्र इव as पाणिपुत्र इव and

both himself and Śrutadeva interpret him as Pāṇini. That Pāṇini's mother was Dākṣī and that his native place was Śālaterra are facts already known; and we know from this reference here the name of Pāṇini's father. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya informs me that Pāṇini is referred to in Telugu works (of Śrīnātha and Pedana) as Paṇinasūnu. Kavi, authority on polity, is Brhaspati according to Śrīdeva, and Śukra according to Śrutasāgara. Romapāda is the Aṅgarāja, king of the Aṅgas, to whom sage Pālakāpya revealed the elephant-lore. See *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya, *Anandāśrama Series* 26; *Mataṅgalīlā* of Nīlakaṇṭha, *TSS*, 10, ch. 1, 4—6, and ch. 12, 28; also *Raḡhuraṁśa* VI. 27 and *Agnipurāṇa*, ch. 292, śl. 44. Re. Raivata on horses, both the commentators say that Raivata is the son of Sūrya, Ravisuta. Raivata or Raivanta is the son of Sūrya and Vadaṇvā (*Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, ch. 75, śl. 24), and is described as a Guhyaka chief and an Aśvavāhaka with whip in hand. He is worshipped and prayed to for the good of horses; see Jayadatta's *Aśvacikitsā*, *Bib. Ind.* 1886, ch. 7, pp. 85-6, for *Raivatapūjā*. There is also a *Raivatastotra* intended to secure the welfare of horses.¹¹ Śukanāśa on gems is identified by Śrīdeva and Śrutasāgara as Agastya, and Kāśīrāja on medicine as Dhanvantari. Kāvya on military science is Śukra. Dattaka, the Kāmaśāstra authority, is the author who compiled a Vaiśika text for the

¹¹ See Burnell's *Tanjore Library Catalogue*, p. 200b and Keith's *India Office Catalogue*, p. 758. The *stotra* is given below from the Tanjore MS. (Courtesy: Secretary of the Library):

नारद उवाच । रैवतः पाथिवो वीरः मानृकालो हलोदरुणः । पञ्चग्रीवोऽश्वपुरुषः पिण्डकी हयवाहकः ॥ सूर्यपुत्रो महास्वामी छायाहृदयनन्दनः । नारदानन्दकारी च हृदयज्ञो रणप्रियः ॥ भास्वान् रत्नावतीभर्ता निर्भयो भयविघ्नहा । भूतेशस्तर्जना भद्रो भूतेशो भक्तवत्सलः ॥ आरोग्य-स्मरणो वैद्यः सर्वरक्षकरः शिवः । यः कश्चिदिति नामानि अष्टाविंशति संख्यया । अरुणोदयवेलायां पठेद्राजा समाहितः ॥ तस्याश्वानां न तु भयं दोषभूतैरुपद्रवैः । स हि विरौचि विभवैः यशोभि-रभिवर्धते । अन्यःकोऽपि पठेदभक्त्या वाञ्छितं तस्य सिद्ध्यति ॥ इति शालिहोत्रमुनिप्रोक्तं रैवतस्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

courtezans of Pāṭalīputra (Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtras*, I. i. ii). The Aparakalās then mentioned may be the 64 *Kalās* pertaining to *Samprayoga*, called *Pāñcālīkī Catuṣaṣṭi* and associated with *Bābhravya* (*Kāmasūtras*, I. iii. 17 and II. ii). Śrīdeva reads *Candrāyaṇīśa* as *Candrāṇīśa* and interprets the word as meaning Candra. It may also be noted from this context that Bharata, the authority on dance and music, is the son of Rṣabhadeva according to the Jain tradition.

P. 249 : भोगवलीपाठकेषु—*Bhogāvalī* is a minor composition intended as a panegyric of a king; other compositions of this class are *Bīrudāvalī*, *Raṅgaghoṣaṇā*, etc. *Bhogāvalīs* are again referred to on p. 351 where Śrutasaṅgāra wrongly interprets them; see again p. 399—भोगवलीपाठिनः ।

P. 281. The king is addressed as Vikramatuṅga. *Tuṅga* is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa-suffix. See my article on Somadeva in the *New Indian Antiquary*, previously referred to.

P. 291. Some more authorities on elephant-lore are referred to, Ibhaṇḍari, Yājñavalkya, Vāddhali, Nara, Nārada, Rājaputra and Gautama :

इभचारि-याज्ञवल्क्य-वाद्धलि-नर-नारद-राजपुत्र-गौतमादिमहाभुनिप्रणीत मतंग
जैतिह्य—

Of these we know from the *Matsyapurāṇa* that Rājaputra is an author of a treatise on elephants known after his name as Rājaputriya, and that Rājaputra is Budha, son of Rājā, moon. *Matsya*. (*Āndandāśrama edn.*) ch. 14. śls. 2-3.

तारोदराद्विनिष्क्रान्तः कुमारश्चन्द्रसन्निभः ।

सर्वार्थशास्त्रविद्विमान् हस्तिशास्त्रप्रवर्तकः ॥

नाम यद् राजपुत्रीयम् विश्रुतं गजवैद्यकम् ।

राज्ञः सोमस्य पुत्रत्वाद्राजपुत्री बुधः स्मृतः ॥

No manuscript of the Rājaputriya has come to light, but as Aufrecht has noted, *Catalogus* I, p. 501b. the Rāja-

putrīya is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa* IV. 39. In the same context, Mallinātha quotes another text on elephants called *Mṛgacarmīya*; Ibhaçāri mentioned first by Somadeva is perhaps the same, and is a mistake for Ibha-carman. Vāddhali is another authority on elephants; in a later context where again Vāddhali occurs, Śrīdeva says (p. 28b)—वाद्धलिः गजागमाचार्यः। In the introductory portion of the *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya (*Anandāśrama* 26, p. 3), we find most of these names Gautama, Rājaputra, Bāṣkali (probably a mistake for Vāddhali), Mṛgaśarman (-carman in Mallinātha's reference), Yājñavalkya and Nārada.

A description of an elephant then follows which shows Somadeva's acquaintance with elephantology.

P. 307. Here begins a display of the author's knowledge of horse-lore.

P. 317. सुकविकाव्यकथाविनोदोद्दमाद्य—contains a reference to poet Māgha, author of the *Śiśupālavadha*. The passage beginning here shows the author's astrological knowledge.

P. 356. असमसाहसारम्भ—an address found here reminds us of the expression 'असमसाहसैश्व' in the Sangli and Cambay plates of Rāṣtrakūṭa Govinda IV. On p. 562, again, 'Asamasāhasa' appears as the name of a warrior. See my article on Somadeva in the *New Indian Antiquary* already referred to.

✓ Pp. 399-400. A spy named Śaṅkhanaka is introduced, and is heralded by his followers, accomplices in the guise of mendicants, etc., as a pastmaster in creating friendship and enmities. Among his followers the text mentions a category of people called Sanniputras according to the *Kāvyamālā* text. The spy himself is announced as 'Sidhas Sāmedhikaḥ,' a soothsayer whose words come true. Sanniputras, as is clear from Śrīdeva's gloss, is a mistake for *Sattriputras*. Sattrins are a class of spies who

go out and by their manifold and out-of-the-way accomplishments in magic, astrology, music, dance, etc., help the plans of the king or try to save the king, and create friendships or enmities as they desire. Śrīdeva says : सत्रिणः मायायोगज्योतिषभरतवैद्यादिविद्याद्वारेण राज्ञो हिताहितपरिजनपरिज्ञान-कुशलाः । सामेधिकः अव्यभिचारिवचनः । On Sattrins and Sāmedhikas, as well as on the expression 'एष सिद्धः सामेधिकः' see *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭalya chs. 11, 141 and 142.

P. 426, verse 171. Somadeva uses here the word 'मामः' and Śrīdeva (p. 13a) interprets it as मातुल. Later, on p. 49 pt. 2., Somadeva uses again सीमीयम् (meaning मातुलीयम् —Śrīdeva (p. 18b). Monier Williams notes in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* both *Māma* and *Māmaka* as meaning an endearing address, as well as uncle, and adds that as an address, it occurs in the *Pañcatantra*. *The St. Petersburg Lexicon* also notes this fact. Among Sanskrit lexicons, *Medinī* and the *Anekārthasaṃgraha* give this word as meaning *Mātula*, maternal uncle. M. Williams suggests the derivation from 'Mama' mine. The word is very common in Dravidian; in Telugu, it occurs in Nannaya (10th cent.), and in Tamil, the form *Māmān* occurs in Tiruppāvai (7th cent.) and the form *Māmaḍi*, perhaps *Māmān* plus *aḍi* showing reverence, occurs in the Tevāram. In Tamil, it means also father-in-law, and the second instance in Somadeva pt. 2, p. 49, the word is used in the sense of father-in-law. The word *Māma* occurs also in Haviṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* (Dr. A. N. Upādhyāye's edn.)

P. 431. Some kings are here mentioned as having met with death treacherously at the hands of those around them. The names do not appear to be historical.

P. 436. śl. 183 refers to Traidanḍikas, Ahitunḍikas Kāpālikas and Kauśikas. Of these the Traidanḍikas are said to be शिवलिङ्गिनः त्रिकमतानुसारिणः, and Kauśikas, magicians according to the commentary. Hemacandra's lexicon

says that Kauśika is a mendicant in general. The same verse speaks of these recluses as having had initiation in Kharapaṭa's lore, *i.e.*, theft. Śrutasaṅgāra interprets Kharapaṭa as Bhāvaka; what he means is not clear.

P. 441. On pp. 440 ff. Somadeva continues his description of rogues. He speaks of fourteen families of rogues, of which the sixth family, he says, arose from the dust of the feet of षट्प्रज्ञ-s.

This is an interesting reference to a community of men of society whom both Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta refer to in their *Dhvanyāloka* and *Locana*, *Uddyota* IV, pp. 222-3, N. S. Press edn. of 1928.

Ānandavardhana mentions these *Ṣaṭprajñas* in connection with cases of expressions where the charming *Vācya* is primary, '*Mukhya*,' and the *Vyaṅgya* is subordinated, '*Guṇābhūta*,' and gives as illustrations the beautiful Prākṛt verses on love composed by the *Ṣaṭprajñas*, *Ṣaṭprajñādiḡāthās*. Commenting on this in his *Locana*, Abhinavagupta says that these *Gāthās* are called in the circles of Prākṛt poets as "*Aaliā*—अअलिया" and that *Ṣaṭprajñas* are those *Sahṛdayas* who, living next door to each other and being well-versed in the world, meet together and exchange expressions of wit, lyrical stanzas, etc. And Abhinavagupta cites as an example a *Gāthā* of his own *Guru* Bhattendurāja.

Dhvanyāloka :

यदा तु चाटुषु देवतास्तुतिषु वा रसादीनामङ्गतया व्यवस्थानं, हृदयवतीषु च षट्प्रज्ञादिगाथासु कासुचिद् व्यंग्यविशिष्टवाच्यप्राधान्यम्..... । P. 222.

Locana :

हृदयवतीष्विति । 'अअलिया' इति त प्राकृतकविगोष्ठ्यां प्रसिद्धासु त्रिवर्गोपायोपेयकुशलाः सहृदयाः षट्प्रज्ञाः प्रातिवेशिका उच्यन्ते । तद्गाथा यथ महेन्दुराजस्य—

लङ्घिअगअणा फलहीलअआओ होन्तु ति बड्दअन्तीए ।

हलिअस्साससिं पाडिवेस..... ॥

अत्र लब्धितगगनाः कार्पासलता भवन्त्विति हालिकस्याशिषं वर्धयन्त्या प्राति-
वेष्टिकः परनिर्वृतिं प्रापित इति चौर्यसंभोगाभिलाषिणीयमित्यनेन व्यङ्ग्येन विप्रिष्ट
वाच्यमेव सुन्दरम् । Pp. 222-3.

In a gāthā in the *Vajjālaggam* (Bib. Ind. edn. pp. 58-9, no. 281), Vidagdha paddhati, Śatprajña is used in the sense of a Vidagdha and an adept in the art of love-making. यदि कथमपि तेषां षट्प्रज्ञानां तन्वंगि गोचरे पतसि । तदोत्कृष्टवृषभ दहैकमण्डिता दुष्करं जीवसि ॥ (छाया).

In explanation of the name *Śatprajña* given to these gifted men, Abhinava seems to say that they are so-called because of their knowledge (*Prajñā*) of six (*Ṣaṭ*) things, the *Upāyas* (means) and *Upeyas* (ends) pertaining to *Trivarga* (*Dharma*, *Artha*, and *Kāma*— $3 \times 2 = 6$). Monier Williams says on the basis of some authority that the six things are the four *Puruṣārthas*, *Lokārtha* and *Tattvārtha*; and it is probably the same authority as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*:

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षेषु लोकतत्त्वार्थयोरपि ।
षट्सु प्रज्ञास्ति यस्यौचैः स षट्प्रज्ञ इति स्मृतः ॥

In Abhinava's explanation, there is the omission of Mokṣa, and in Ānandavardhana too, the implication is that the *Śatprajña* is a man of taste and a worldly wise person. Originally a wise man, then one with much worldly wisdom and taste, then one with a gift for fine expression and enjoyment of good things; the *Śatprajña* thus gradually underwent a Semantic pejoration until he came to mean a *Vita*. The Prākṛt verses he uttered dealt mostly with love and that of the clandestine variety. The lexicons also came to understand him so: The *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* says—

षिद्गो व्यलीकः षट्प्रज्ञः कामकेलिर्विदूषकः ।

and Keśava's *Kalpadrūkośa* says (GOS. edn. I, p. 219).

कट्टश्चाथ षट्प्रज्ञः कामकेलिर्विदूषकः ।

No wonder that Somadeva counts *Ṣaṭprajñas* among men of deceitful behaviour. (पट्प्रज्ञो धूर्तः—Śrīdeva, p. 130; पट्प्रज्ञो विटः—Śrutasāgara).

P. 448. A poet named Aśvattha is mentioned here; here, as well as earlier, a number of poets with imaginative names are introduced. They all appear to be imaginary.

P. 453. A quotation from Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, referring to the view of Viśālākṣa, *i.e.*, Śiva.

तदाह—'नैकस्य कार्यसिद्धिरस्ति' इति विशालाक्षः ।

Śrutasāgara wrongly says here that Viśālākṣa is a poet—विशालाक्षो नाम कविः । Earlier, on p. 250, Somadeva uses the word Viśālākṣa in the unmistakable sense of Śiva, and there Śrutasāgara does not err.

P. 459. Śl. 239 : This verse refers to six poets and scholars, some of whom are familiar names, but we do not know if on this score, Somadeva is to be taken as referring here to existing poets or only to some fictitious persons. The names are Tridaśa, Kohala, Gaṇapati, Śaṅkara, Kumuda and Kekati. Tridaśaviduṣaḥ, it is also likely the first name is not really Tridaśa, but Tridaśavidvān, *i.e.*, Bṛhaspati,—some poet of that name. Śrīdeva has no comments on this verse. Rājaśekhara has praised a Gaṇapati and a Śaṅkara; see *Sūktimuktāvalī*, GOS., pp. 45, 47, 49. Kekati is likely to be an error for केशट or केशट, a poet found in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* and praised by Abhinanda and Vasukalpa. See p. 29, Skt. Intro. to the *Sūktimuktāvalī*.

P. 461 ff. Now appears a detailed description of armies of different parts of the country.

Pp. 461—3 : Somadeva describes here what he calls Dākṣiṇātya-bala, Rāṣṭrakūṭa or Cālukya or Karnaṭa forces. Some of the features of these soldiers are—

- i. Red turbans with a horn-like tapering in the middle.
- ii. Closely clipped beards and moustache.
- iii. Three-rowed necklaces of many-coloured beads.
- iv. Covered necks.
- v. Iron bracelets shaped like coiling serpents.
- vi. Daggers at waists.
- vii. Clothes girded up high at the loins.
- viii. Listening as they go to panegyrists who accompany them, singing their glories.

These forces are said to be specially skilled in the varied wielding of weapons.

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya drew my attention to some paintings in the Ellora caves depicting soldiers, and published in Annual Report of H. E. H. the Nizam's Archæological Dept., 1927-28. Some of the features mentioned by Somadeva like the close-cut beard, the horn-like turban and the girt-up clothes can be seen here, as also perhaps the covered necks. On the basis of some inscriptions here, Mr. Hirananda Sastri and Mr. G. Yazdani assign these frescoes to the 12th-13th cen. A.D.

Pp. 463-4. A description of Tamil forces: 'Drāmila-bala.' In the frequent engagements between the Rāṣtrakūṭas and the Colas, Tamil soldiers must have become a common sight for people like Somadeva. Further, the Yaśastilaka campū itself was written, as has been pointed out already, a few years after a Rāṣtrakūṭa triumph over the Colas at Tokkolam, in which the Lemulavāḍa Cālukyas must have also taken part on the side of Kṛṣṇa III.

The features distinguishing Tamil soldiers are thus given :

i. A small tuft of hair at the centre of the head, with a low row of curly hair encircling the tuft (kuḍumi and kannukkuḍumi).

ii. Ear-lobes weighed down by heavy resplendent gold ear-rings.

iii. On the ends of their mouth, and on their chin and leg, well-grown hair.

iv. White shiny teeth cleaned every day and which imported a charm to their faces.

v. Swarthy complexion with turmeric paint smeared over the body.

vi. Umbrellas of peacock-feathers held over their heads.

vii. Wooden shields painted red held at their waist.

This army was noteworthy for the billowing and jumping movements of the soldiers, which shows the preponderance of foot-soldiers.

Pp. 464-5 : A description of North Indian soldiers, fair in complexion, armed with blades, spears, swords, and bows, riding in several poses swift steeds, with turbans of variegated hue tied by each along a different part of the head and with flower-clusters mounted on such turbans.

Pp. 465-7 : Tairabhuktam-balam, forces from Tirhut, which comprised contingents of Gauda soldiers; the latter are described graphically, and it is said that their clumsiness and frequent stumbling hampered the progress of the army.

The Gaudas are described as always chewing fried grain, consequently having worn-out and cleft teeth-fronts,

with mouths tinctured by betel-chewing, extremely irascible by temperament, wearing clothes dangling to their feet, thanks to which they fell at every step and got the abuse of those marching nearby, and having long tufts of hair.

The Tairabukta army was feeling encumbered with these Gauḍas; they had many elephants, the soldiers carried shields woven in multi-coloured fibre, waved their sabres, and were great adepts in warfare in water-logged places, rivers, etc.

This intimate knowledge of Gauḍa and Tīrabhukta forces goes only to strengthen my contention in my article on Somadeva in the *NIA* that Somadeva originally belonged to the Gauḍasaṅgha and was perhaps connected with the Bodhgayā Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

P. 467. Gūrjara army: The features of these soldiers from Gujarat are:

- i. Dhoties hanging down up to the knees.
- ii. Daggers mounted on handles of buffalo-horns at their waists.
- iii. Bushy growth of hair all over the body providing so to say a hairy armour.
- iv. Hanging locks of hair and moustache hiding their noses and ears.
- v. High quivers of arrows on both shoulders making them appear as having three heads.

These soldiers are said to be greatly skilled in archery.

P. 469. The text mentions here Coladeśa; Śruta-sāgara says चोलश्च मञ्जिष्ठादेशभूषः। Mañjiṣṭhā is the Red Indian Madder, *Rubia Manjista*; according to the Rājānirghaṇṭa, one of the four varieties of this herb is called Cola, *i.e.*, that peculiar to the Cola country. See *śabda-kalpadruma*. In Tamil, it is called Sevvelai.

P. 471. A list of authorities on Arthaśāstra is given: Guru, *i.e.*, Brhaspati, Śukra, Viśālākṣa, Parikṣit, Parāśara, Bhīma, Bhīṣma and Bharadvāja. Of these, Brhaspati, Śukra (Uśanas), Viśālākṣa (Śiva), Parāśara, Bhīṣma (Kaṇvapadanta) and Bharadvāja are referred to by Kauṭalya himself. The works of Viśālākṣa and Parāśara are both quoted in Viśvarūpa's commentary on Yājñavalkya-smṛti. See Mm. Ganapati Sastri's Introduction to his edn. of the Arthaśāstra in the TSS., Vols. I and II. Ganapati Sastri identifies Bharadvāja as Droṇācārya; he may more probably be Kaṇika or Kaṇihka who gives unscrupulous advice to Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Duryodhana in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvam, and whom Kauṭalya also refers to in V. 5. 93, 'कौटिल्योऽपसव्यमिति कलिङ्को भारद्वाजः।' See Mbh. Ādi., *Kumbhakonam edn.* 153, śls. 2—3 and 6.

The rare names given by Somadeva are Parikṣit and Bhīma.

Śrutasāgara adds three more names Vallabhadeva, Vyāsa and Nārada; of these Vyāsa is well-known, and Nārada is Kauṭalya's Piśuna. Vallabhadeva's work is not yet known.

P. 473. śl. 259: अष्टशास्त्रम् etc., gives a topical epitome of the Arthaśāstra. 8 Śākhās according to the two commentators are Ari, Vijigīṣu, Madhyama and Udāsīna with reference to Ari and Mitra, *i.e.*, $2 \times 4 = 8$. 4 Mūlas, Sāma, Dāna, Bheda, Daṇḍa. 60 Patras, a dozen items, Ari, Vijigīṣu, Svamitra, Arimitra, and so on multiplied by 5 Prakṛtis, Amātya, Rājya, Durga, Kośa, and Bala. 2 Sthānas, Daiva and Puruṣakāra. 6 flowers: Sandhi, Vighraha, Yāna, Āsana, Samśraya, and Dvaidhībhāva. 3 fruits: Sthāna, Kṣaya and Vṛddhi.

In the same context occurs the expression 'Āvāpa'; Śrīdeva interprets it as 'Paramaṇḍalacintā'.

Then follows a description of Nāṭya, Kāvya and Sarasvatī.

P. 476. Śl. 266 : mentions Bhāva, Rasa, Nṛtya (Abhinayas), Vṛtti, Pravṛtti, Siddhi, Svaras and Ātodya which closely follows the verse of Bharata in Nāṭyaśāstra, ch. vi. (Śl. 10).

रसा भावा ह्यभिनयाः धर्मावृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः ।
सिद्धिस्वरसः तथातोद्यं गानं रङ्गश्च सङ्ग्रहः ॥

In Somadeva's verse line 2 reads

वर्णा सिद्धजनैः, नभश्चरगणैर्वृत्त्या, प्रवृत्त्या सुरैः ।

Here Varṇyā is meaningless and is therefore an error for 'धर्म्या' and we miss the topic Dharmī (Nāṭyadharmī and Lokadharmī) if we do not take this correction.

P. 479. Śl. 274 : त्रिमूलकम् etc.—A topical summary of poetics :

3 Mūlas : Śrīdeva gives them as Śakti, Vyutpatti and Abhyāsa.

2 Stems (Dvidhotthāna) : Śabda and Artha.

5 Boughs : 5 Vṛttis, Madhurā, Praudhā, Paruṣā, Lalitā and Bhadrā.

See my book, *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, ch. on Vṛtti, p. 191. (Ādyar Library Series).

4 Leaves : 4 Rītis, Vaidarbhī, Gauḍīyā, Pāncālī and Lāṭīyā. Śrīdeva quotes here Rudraṭa on these Rītis.

9 Chāyās : According to Śrīdeva who again quotes Rudraṭa, the 9 shades are the 9 Alaṅkāras, 5 of Śabda and 4 of Artha, Vakrokti, Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Śleṣa, Citra, Vāstava, Aupameya, Atiśaya and Śleṣa.

Śrutasāgara, however, takes the 9 chāyās as the 9 Rasas.

10 Bhūmis : The 10 Rasas according to Śrīdeva; the 9 Rasas plus Preyas, where again Rudraṭa is followed.

Somadeva illustrates Preya Rasa by the affection existing between two individuals of the same sex, as between Rama and Lakṣmaṇa :

प्रेयान्नाम रसो रामलक्ष्मणयोरिव पुरुषयोः परस्मरप्रीत्याश्रयः । P. 146.

Śrutasāgara takes the number 10 here as referring to the 10 Guṇas, Śleṣa, Prasāda, etc.

P. 480. कदाचित् नियत वृत्ति वर्ण पद × × ×
जिन, जैमिनि, कपिल, कण्चर, चार्वाक, शाक्य प्रणीत × × × ×

The word Vṛtti here is interpreted in both commentaries as Samāsa (वृत्तिः षड्विधः समासः p. 146). On Vṛtti meaning Samāsa, see my *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, pp. 191-2.

Regarding the Darśanakāras mentioned here, Śrutasāgara says : जैमिनिश्च भट्टः । चार्वाकश्च नृवाकृशिष्यः नास्तिकः । कण्चरः अक्षपादः शिवमतानुसारी । According to Śrutasāgara, the reading in the text here includes mention of Kaulika before Śākya, or according to him, Kaulika or Kulācārin is included in the Cārvāka. Regarding the number of Pramāṇas accepted by each of these, Śrutasāgara refers us to the work *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya*.

P. 483. Another reference to authorities on elephants :—मरीचि, मतङ्ग, मृगशर्मादि महामुनि etc. The paragraphs which follow show Somadeva's knowledge of elephant-lore.

Pp. 507—521. In connection with bath and eating, Somadeva exhibits his knowledge of Vaidyaśāstra.

P. 509. śl. 328 mentions the following authorities on Vaidya, Cārāyaṇa, Timi, Dhiṣaṇa (Bṛhaspati) and Caraka, as advocating eating respectively in night, evening, noon and morning. But this is at variance with Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra* I. 4 20—सायं चारायणस्य ।

Pp. 528—532. Description of Yantradhārāgrha, the bathing garden and pavilion, furnished with various mechanical contrivances to carry and sprinkle water, and worked with carvings of different human, divine, animal

and bird figures, all indulging in water-sports. These and other Yantras, I am dealing with in a separate Study.

P. 548. Here ends a description of the rainy season by a poet named Akālaḥjalada—इत्यकालजलदबन्दिनिद्यमानमनाः । Akālaḥjalada happens to be a historical name, and Rājaśekhara refers to him as his great-grandfather and as 'Mahārāṣṭra Cūḍāmaṇi.' See the Prastāvana to Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyana*, and *Sūkti muktāvali*, GOS., p. 46, verses 83-4, eulogies of Rājaśekhara on Akālaḥjalada.

P. 567. 'चैद्यसुन्दरीविनोदकन्दलः', occurring in a description of the king may be taken to echo the historical fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cedis were related by marriage, and Amoghavarṣa III and Kṛṣṇa III of the former were sons-in-law of the Cedis. See my article on Somadeva in *NIA*.

✓ P. 580-2. A number of musical instruments are mentioned here: Śaṅkha, Kāhala, Dundubhi, Puṣkara, Ḍhakkā, Ānaka, Bhambhā, Karata, Trivila, Damaruka, Ruñjā, Jayaghaṇṭā, Venu, Vīṇā and Jhallarī.

Pp. 596-7. Praise of Aparājitā Devī called also Ambikā and interpreted by Śrutasaḡara as Āmrā Devī and Kūṣmāṇḍinī, and reference to the *Mahānavamī* festival in her honour.

Pp. 597-9. The Mahānavamī is followed by the Dīpotsava. Houses are whitewashed and decorated with white festoons; music, merry-making and gambling go on; the tops of houses are bright with rows of lights. This festival is in the Śarat season.

P. 599. After this, the king practises Archery (Dhanurvidyā).

P. 606. Description of darkness:—दुर्जनजनचेष्टितमिव समस्तमुच्चमवचं च वस्तु समतां नयति Compare Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, VII. 57:

शुद्धमाविलमवस्थितं चलं वक्रमार्जवगुणान्वितं च यत् ।
सर्वमेव तमसा समीकृतं धिङ्महत्त्वमसतां हतान्तरम् ॥

P. 607. Śl. 476. A reference to the custom of expiatory observance to remove effects of an evil eye,—*Dṛṣṭiparihāra*, such as swinging of salt in front of the king, and then throwing it in fire so that the salt may crack loudly,—a custom widely prevalent even now; then there is mention of offering of Bali (food) and worship for propitiating Rākṣasas who begin to be at large during the night.

[*To be Continued.*]

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN TEXTUAL CRITICISM by Dr. S. M. Katre, M.A., Ph.D. (London), with Appendix II by Mr. P. K. Gode, M.A., published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay, 1941. Pp. xiii+148. Price Rs. 3/8/-.

The book under review deals with the main principles of textual criticism showing the proper methods of the critical editing of texts. In other words, it shows with reference to Indian conditions the principal features of the science of textual criticism, in so far as it can be a science, which may enable editors to master the modern methods of critical editing. It is necessary for every scholar of Indian thought to equip himself in this art. We have to admit that Western scholars are much more advanced in this art and no effort was so far made to draw the attention of Indian scholars to this sort of training.

We congratulate Dr. S. M. Katre and Mr. P. K. Gode for presenting to the world of Indian scholarship their experiences in this art in such an interesting form. The book has been very carefully divided into eight chapters. The authors have explained the principles of the science of critical editing and have given practical hints for the same. All these hints are based on actual experiences which they have picked up in the course of their multifarious activities in this field.

Besides, the book contains several very useful Appendices. The first Appendix deals with a glossary of some important terms used in textual criticism. The most important appendix is the second which gives us a brief note on the history and progress of cataloguing of Sanskrit and other MSS. in India and outside (between

A.D. 1800 and 1941). It is needless to say how important it is to have before us all the possible information regarding the MSS. catalogues. Mr. P. K. Gode has taken the advantage of his long experience in giving us a chronological list of these catalogues with such other details as are necessary for any research work. This is followed by the description of some important manuscripts and some critical editions which help us to see how the canons of scientific editing can be easily applied to Indian works.

No doubt the book cannot claim to be quite exhaustive, but it is a fact that it is a very successful attempt in this direction. The book will, undoubtedly, help the students and scholars alike to equip themselves in this art.

SUKTHANKAR MEMORIAL EDITION, VOL. I. CRITICAL STUDIES IN THE MAHABHARATA, by the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., published by Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. xi+440. Price Rs. 15.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has done great service to Indian scholarship by unfolding its treasures in various ways. But the most important work which it has undertaken and wherein it has achieved distinction is the critical editing of the *Mahābhārata*. Though the work was undertaken in 1919, it was in 1925 that Dr. V. S. Sukthankar took charge of the work as its General Editor and reorganised it on a sound basis. For about 17 years he worked on it and brought international honour to himself and to the Institute. But unfortunately, before he could achieve much more distinction, suddenly he had to leave for the other world.

This led his friends to perform a very honorable duty of publishing a Memorial Edition of his published writings in separate volumes. The book under review is its first volume. His *Prolegomena* to the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*, the bed-rock of the Mahābhārata Textual Criticism, was much in demand since its first publication. The present volume contains it along with the other Epic Studies of Dr. Sukthankar. It contains several valuable articles on Epic Studies which speak for themselves. The volume is indeed a great proof of the depth of scholarship and hard labour of Dr. Sukthankar. He has shown what a vast amount of labour and patience is required for doing a serious work. When a reader goes through the pages of this volume, he becomes astonished to see the vast material lying hidden in the Epics. The critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* is indeed a tremendous task and the labours of the late Dr. Sukthankar have shown how that task can be crowned with success. Love for scholarship alone can be the guiding diety for such a work. It requires ability, depth of knowledge, and above all, great patience to achieve success. Sukthankar had all these qualities and it is a matter of great consolation that the Institute has been able to secure the services of a very experienced scholar who will maintain the standard laid down by his predecessor. It is enough to say that the study of this volume is indispensable for the study of the Epics. The editors deserve hearty congratulations for such an attempt.

BULLETIN OF THE DECCAN COLLEGE RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
POONA. 1943-44, Vol. V. Pp. 329. Price Rs. 16.

The present volume of the *Bulletin* is intended to commemorate the connection of the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar with the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute. Though not very old, the *Bulletin* has established a good reputation of the Institute in the field of research.

The present volume mainly deals with the various aspects of Epic Studies. Though the critical study of the Epic is being done mainly under the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, yet the nature of the task is of such magnitude that enough scope is left for work to be done elsewhere. Here is an attempt which shows how the study of the great Epic can be carried independently and successfully in other centres of research as well.

The volume contains valuable information on Epic Studies from the ancient period down to the present day. Each and every article is quite informative and interesting. The articles of Professors Karve, Sankalia and Apte are very interesting. One can easily understand the importance of our Epics from the article of Shaikh Chānd Husain. We know how much interested some of the Muslims were in our ancient lore. In the introduction to the Persian translation of the *Mahābhārata* by Abu'l Faidi, his brother says that it is an attempt to remove the misunderstanding of the Muslims regarding the Hindu religion that my brother is translating this great Epic of the Hindus (*vide* the MS. in possession of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute).

The present number of the *Bulletin* is thus an important addition to Epic studies and is very useful for reference.

PROGRESS OF INDIC STUDIES, 1917—1942, edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., and published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Silver Jubilee), 1942. Pp. 406. Price Rs. 8.

With the foundation of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1917 Indian Scholars got an inspiration for work in the history of Indological Studies. It became a sort of nucleus for the growth of higher studies in different branches of Sanskrit learning. Original contributions were made towards the advancement of knowledge, rare and important works were edited and traditional learning came to be recognised along with critical scholarship. So the authorities of the Institute on the solemn occasion of the celebration of its Silver Jubilee thought it proper to undertake a survey of the progress made in Indic Studies, in India and outside, during the last twenty-five years. They received sympathetic response from the scholars and the present volume is a result of their cooperation.

It contains twelve sections: (1) Vedic studies, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, (2) Iranian Studies by Dr. J. M. Unvala, (3) Epic and Puranic Studies by Dr. A. D. Pusalker, (4) Prakrit Studies by Dr. A. M. Ghatage, (5) Classical Sanskrit Literature by the late Dr. H. D. Sharma, (6) Ancient Indian History and Archæology by Dr. H. D. Sankalia, (7) South-Indian Archæology and Epigraphy by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, (8) Greater Indian Research by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, (9) Linguistics in India by Dr. S. K. Chatterji, (10) Indian Sociology in relation to Hindu Dharma-sāstra by Dr. P. Valavolkar, (11) Indian Philosophy by Dr. P. T. Raju, and (12) Study of Manuscripts by Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti.

Most of the sections have been very well written. Their authors have taken great pains to deal with almost

all the important aspects of their special branches of studies. Vedic, Ancient Indian History, Greater Indian Research, Linguistics and Indian Sociology Sections deserve special mention. Within the limited space they give us an all-round information regarding the progress made during the period. Though limited in scope, the volume provides a good material for writing a critical history of Indian literature. Classical Sanskrit literature section should have been much more exhaustive. Considering the nature and scope of the section, it would have been much more useful, if it were split up into several parts and entrusted to more than one scholar. The same may be said regarding some other important sections. However, the present volume is a very good attempt and will prove useful for research work in any branch of Indic learning.

HINDU PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN SCIENCES, by Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra, M.A., P.E.S. (Retd.). Published by Sharada Mandir Book Depôt, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. x+232. Price Rs. 2/8/-.

There has been, of late, a great deal of speculative activity in the hinterland of science. The baffling facts encountered in nuclear Physics and Biology have forced the more thoughtful among the scientists to turn their attention to the foundations of scientific knowledge, and the researches in higher mathematics and mathematical physics have raised problems bearing on the fundamentals of scientific method. The works of Jeans, Eddington, Schrödinger, Heisenberg, Parsons, Whitehead, Woodger, Vexhill and others on the philosophical aspects of science and scientific method have opened up a new field for investigation. The old notions about the nature of "matter," "causality" and "determinism," "space and

time" and many other concepts are being called into question. Their inadequacy is being shown, and the need for introducing the concept of *purpose* is being felt.

R. B. Ram Chandra is one of the daring band of pioneers having courage enough to challenge the "dogmas" of science. In twelve well-written chapters the learned author has indicated clearly the bearing of Indian philosophical thought on the perplexing problems of contemporary science. The structure of the Universe, the Status of Man in it, the rôle of Causation are some of the major topics discussed in these chapters. But the most valuable contribution of the work lies in the discussion of the "Universe as Creator's Glory and Creation" and in the manner in which the learned author demonstrates the reality of the "Controller" of the world process. It is in this demonstration that the puzzled minds of the contemporary philosophical scientists will find a clue for the solution of the many problems that face them. The monograph is marked by unity of purpose, clarity of thought, and consistency of argument. Illuminating quotations from original sources are given in profusion. The concluding chapter gives us a *Résumé* of the whole work. The book under review is one more space in the bridge that is being thrown across the gulf that separates Science from Philosophy and Religion. And this *space* is of special interest to us as it has been built by *Hindu* hands out of *Hindu* materials.

Hindu Philosophy and Modern Sciences should be read by every student of science in our country, and it should find a place on the shelves in the library of every cultured Hindu home.

—P. S. Naidu.



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[Part 4

A NOTE OF THE MAÑKANI GRANT OF TARALASVĀMIN

By V. V. MIRASHI

As far back as 1894 Mr. H. H. Dhruva published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 19 ff., an odd copper-plate found somewhere in the Saṅkheḍā *tālukā* of the Baroda State. The plate contained only the concluding portion of a grant, including benedictive and imprecatory verses, the name of the writer and the date, *viz.*, the year 346 expressed both in words and decimal figures. All other details such as the donor and the donee, the object of the grant, etc., were believed to be lost as the earlier plate or plates were not forthcoming. Mr. Dhruva, however, conjectured mainly from the evidence of palæography that the grant was made by a Gurjara king. He, therefore, referred its date, like the dates of other grants of early Gurjara kings, to the Cedi era and took it as equivalent to A.D. 595-96. As this was the earliest known instance of decimal notation in Indian inscriptions, the grant has attained considerable importance and has been frequently cited in discussions about the genuineness of early records whose dates are expressed in decimal figures.¹

¹ See e.g., Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's article 'Palæographic Notes' in *R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 319 ff.

Recently Mr. A. S. Gadre, Director of the Archaeological Department, Baroda State, has published the missing first plate of this grant which was found at Māṅkaṇi in the Saṅkheḍā *tālukā*.² As Mr. Gadre has shown, the text of this plate ends exactly where that of the second plate begins. Their characters also completely agree. There is, therefore, no doubt that the two plates make one complete grant.

The plates purport to record the grant, by Taralasvāmin of the Kaṭaccuri family, of a rice-field in the village Maṅkaṇikā which is undoubtedly Māṅkaṇi as shown by Mr. Gadre. Taralasvāmin is described as the son of Mahārāja Naṇṇa and Dadā and the sister's husband of the illustrious Sūrya. The grant was made for the maintenance of five great sacrifices. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Jyeṣṭhasena who belonged to the Jātūkarna gōtra³ and the Vājasaneyā Śākhā.

Of the Early Kaṭaccuris or Kalacuris we have in all four records,⁴ two of which were found in Gujarat and the other two in the Nasik District of Mahārāṣṭra. From them we know of three kings, Kṛṣṇarāja, Śaṅkaragana and Buddharāja who were ruling over Gujarat, Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra from about A.D. 550 to A.D. 620. Taralasvāmin's grant of A.D. 595 falls in this period, but neither he nor his father Naṇṇa who had the title of Mahārāja is named in any of the aforementioned records. Mr. Gadre, therefore, supposes that Taralasvāmin was

² *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff. Mr. Gadre has kindly sent me excellent impressions of both the plates.

³ As Mr. Gadre has pointed out this gotra recalls the name Jātūkarni of the mother of the celebrated Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti.

⁴ *Viz.*, the Abhona plates of Śaṅkaragana (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 296 ff.), Saṅkheḍā plate of the same king's reign (*ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff.), and the Vadner and Sarasavani plates of Buddharāja (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 30 ff. and Vol. VI, pp. 294 ff.).

holding only local sway in Gujarat. In that case he must have owed allegiance to the Kaṭaccuri Śaṅkaragaṇa whose Ābhoṇa plates were granted in the Kalacuri-Cedi year 347, *i.e.*, just a year after the date of the present grant. These plates were issued from the King's victorious camp at Ujjaini and record the donation of some land in the village Vallisikā in the viṣaya of Bhogavardhana (modern Bhokardhan in the Nizam's State). Gujarat was, therefore, plainly included in Śaṅkaragaṇa's dominion. This is also corroborated by another plate found in Saṅkheḍā which records a grant of the *Balādhikṛta* Śāntilla and mentions Śaṅkaragaṇa as his suzerain. Like Śāntilla, Taralasvāmin also seems to have been holding a subordinate position; for like the former he addresses his order to a king's officers (*rājapādīyas*) as well as his own. This king may have been Śaṅkaragaṇa.

There are certain indications which raise suspicion about the genuineness of this grant. It looks strange that unlike Śāntilla,⁵ Taralasvāmin does not name his suzerain who, as we have seen was Śaṅkaragaṇa. He and his father Naṇṇa are described in extravagant terms which would have been more appropriate in the case of such an independent king as Śaṅkaragaṇa. Besides, we find that in this period Śāntilla also was holding this very part of Gujarat, for the village Taṇḍulapadraka granted by him is identified with Tāndaljā, about 16 miles from Saṅkheḍā. It is, of course, possible to reconcile the two grants by supposing that Taralasvāmin either preceded or followed Śāntilla in the governorship of Gujarat, but in any case Taralasvāmin's silence about his suzerain remains inexplicable.

The decimal notation also, used in recording the date, causes suspicion about the genuineness of the grant;

⁵ Śāntilla not only reverentially mentions Śaṅkaragaṇa, but also the latter's father Kṛṣṇarāja.

for not only in the period, *viz.*, the end of the sixth century A.D., to which the record refers itself, but for more than 150 years afterwards the prevailing custom in Gujarat as in other parts of India was to record dates in numerical symbols. The inscriptions of the early Kalacuris, Gurjaras, Sendrakas and Cālukyas⁶ who held Gujarat from the sixth to the eighth century A.D. are invariably dated in this manner. Even the Hānsot plates⁷ of Bhartrvādḍha which were issued as late as V. 813 (A.D. 756) have their date expressed in numerical symbols. These plates were issued from Bharukaccha (modern Broach). Similarly, the Antroli-Charoli plates⁸ of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka who succeeded the Cālukyas in Southern Gujarat use similar symbols to express their date Ś. 679 (A.D. 757). Except for the doubtful case of the present grant the earliest record from North India which contains a date in decimal figures is the Shergaḍh Buddhist inscription⁹ of the Sāmanta Devadatta dated V. 847 or A.D. 791-92. In South India also the numerical symbols held the field for a long time. The earliest record from that part of the country which uses the decimal notation is the Dhulia grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Karkarāja, dated Ś. 701 (A.D. 789-90).¹⁰ It

⁶ See D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1204—1221.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pl. facing p. 203.

⁸ *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 108.

⁹ See plate of the date in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351. The dates of some earlier inscriptions recorded in the Gupta era are supposed to be in decimal figures. (See *e.g.*, G. 347 of Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1357, G. 365 of No. 1361 and G. 387 of No. 1368). But they cannot be verified for want of facsimiles. Besides, later dates from the same locality such as G. 386 of No. 1367, G. 403 of No. 1370, etc., are known to be in numerical symbols which raises a strong presumption that the earlier dates also were in similar letter-numerals.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 186. The Sāmāṅgaḍ plates of Dantidurga, dated Ś. 675 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111 ff.) which were issued earlier, use the decimal notation, but they are re-

would seem, therefore, that the decimal notation began to supersede the numerical symbols both in North and South India about the same time, *viz.*, in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.^{10a} The present grant which purports to have been made as early as A.D. 595 and still has its date expressed in decimal figures appears to be suspicious.

There is another circumstance which strengthens the suspicion. The drafter of the present grant seems to have borrowed certain expressions from earlier Sendraka grants. Compare, for instance, the expression *avanata-sāmanta-mukuta-maṇi-nighṛṣṭa-carāṇay u g a l-āra-vindaḥ* in line 1 of the present grant with *pranāt-āśeṣa-sāmanta-śiro-mukuta-nighṛṣṭa-pada-paṅkajaḥ* in l. 5 of the Bagumrā plates of Allaśakti (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267). Similarly, *Kalpatarur-iv-opabhujja(jya)mān-ākṣiṇa-vibhavaḥ* in ll. 5-6 of this grant bears unmistakable resemblance to *Kalpa-talum(rur)-iv-ābhivāñchit-āśeṣa-jaṇ-opabhujyamāna-vibhavo* in lines 7-8 of the Sendraka grant.¹¹ As these expressions occur in more than one genuine Sendraka record we cannot doubt that they originally belonged to them. Now, the Sendrakas held Gujarat till A.D. 656 at least. The present grant which seems to have borrowed these expressions from Sendraka records could not have therefore been made in A.D. 595.

garded as spurious. It is noteworthy that the recently discovered Ellorā plates of the same Rāstrakūṭa king dated S. 663 (for 664) (A.D. 742) express their date in numerical symbols. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pl. facing p. 29.

^{10a} Mr. Kaye also says 'the ninth century A.D. is about the time when these symbols ceased to be fashionable for Indian inscriptions.' *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 44-5.

¹¹ Some other ideas such as fame being white like the moon and crossing the ocean are also common, but they are quite conventional and therefore afford no conclusive evidence of borrowing.

The evidence detailed above seems to point to the conclusion that the present grant was forged sometime in the second half of the eighth century A.D. The palæography of the grant as well as the shape of the numerical figures do not militate against this conclusion. These characters were probably current in Gujarat till the close of the eighth century A.D. The aforementioned Hānsot plates of Bhartivaddha dated V. 813 (A.D. 756) and the Antroli-Chāroli plates of Karka, dated Ś. 679 (A.D. 757-58) are incised in similar characters. As for numerical figures, there are only three used in the present grant, *viz.*, 3, 4 and 6. Of these, the symbol for 3 occurs in this very form in the Goṇḍal plates (Set A), dated G. 405 (A.D. 724-25), while that for 4 occurs in a similar shape in the Kasare plates of Allaśakti (A.D. 653) and in a somewhat modified form in still later records such as the aforementioned Goṇḍal plates. The symbol for 6 has a peculiar form rarely noticed elsewhere in early records as remarked by Mr. Kaye,¹² but a somewhat similar form of the number is seen in the Shergaḍh inscription of Devadatta, dated V. 847 (A.D. 790-91) and the Ghumli grant of Jāika II, dated G. 596 (A.D. 886-87).¹³

It seems, therefore, that the Māñkaṇi grant was forged sometime in the second half of the eighth century A.D.¹⁴ It therefore affords no sure proof that the decimal notation was in vogue for Indian inscriptions as early as the sixth century A.D.¹⁵

¹² See Table II, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 52.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pl. facing p. 224.

¹⁴ Mr. Kaye also regards this inscription as doubtful, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 53, 54, n. 2.

¹⁵ In view of the forged character of this grant and the doubtful evidence of such dates in decimal figures as G. 347 etc., Dr. Sukthankar's surmise that 'the Gurjaras and perhaps their neighbours in Gujarat had adopted the more advanced system of decimal notation much earlier than their contemporaries further south' (*R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 319) does not appear to be valid.

NEGATION ACCORDING TO NAVYA-NYĀYA

By TARA SANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Negation, according to Navya-Nyāya, is a category, because it is perceived to be characterising the place where the negation exists, *i.e.*, where something is negated. But it cannot be identified with other categories like substance, quality, action, universality, particularity and inherence, because their essence is affirmation and negation is other than affirmation.¹ And though it is a quality or meaning of the substratum, it is quite unlike any other quality. For all other qualities inhere or are internally lodged in their substances, but negation does not abide in the relation of inherence in its locus, inasmuch as a negation can be removed. The place where the jar does not exist, is qualified by the non-existence of the jar; but if the jar is replaced, then there is no longer the negation of the jar on the ground. Negation, therefore, does not inhere in its substratum, but resides in it in the relation of a type of self-identity (*svarūpa-sambandha*), which is called particularity (*viśeṣaṇatā*).

Negation not only implies the place which it qualifies, but also something negated. Negation, without reference to something negated, is inconceivable. Negation thus has both a locus or substratum and a positive counterpart which is negated. The former is called the *Anuyogī* and the latter *Pratīyogī*.² The *anuyogī* is determined by non-existence whose necessary *pratīyogī* or counterpositive

¹ *Sidhānta-Muktāvalī* on the verse No. 12 of the *Bhāṣāparīccheda*. Cf. Hobhouse: *Theory of Knowledge*, p. 154—"The negative judgment rejects or excludes the content which the affirmative accepts, and from this point of view negation is the contrary attitude of affirmation."

² Cf. Bradley: *The Principles of Logic*, Vol. I, p. 159—"In all negation we must have the assertion of a positive ground."

signifies that some affirmation must precede negation. A denial in itself and by itself is unmeaning, though denial is not identical with affirmation, *i.e.*, to deny is not *ipso facto* to affirm something.

These ideas, *viz.*, that the substratum of negation is qualified by it, that there is no negation as such, and that some amount of affirmation must be anterior to negation, have parallel in modern Western Logic. Thus Bradley says: "The affirmative judgment qualifies a subject by the attribution of a quality, and the negative judgment qualifies a subject by the explicit rejection of that same quality."³ Again, he remarks: "Mere denial, however, rests in abstract exclusion, which as abstract is really nothing."⁴ Here Bradley definitely is of opinion that non-existence is a quality of the real or the substratum and that there cannot be any negation *qua* negation. Similarly observes Welton: "We must have a positive ground for our denial, or it would be a mere set of words without meaning."⁵ Bosanquet also thinks that affirmation precedes negation. He asserts: "On the other hand, negation does presuppose some affirmation, that is, the affirmation of a state of facts which, being judged true as a whole, carries with it the problematic affirmation, the affirmation as a possibility or enunciation as a conception in the world of meanings, of the idea 'suggested'. In this respect, therefore, affirmation is in the beginning of knowledge, at any rate, prior to negation."⁶

Negation is divided, in the first place, by Viśva-nātha into negation of contact or relationship and mutual negation. Mutual negation exists in cases where two things cannot be identified and hence, one is not the other.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁵ Welton: *Groundwork of Logic*, p. 47.

⁶ Bosanquet: *Logic*, Vol. I, p. 280.

The negation of contact, which is other than mutual negation, is subdivided into prior negation, negation due to destruction and absolute negation. The prior negation is amenable to destruction. It is negated by a future affirmation. When we say that the jar will be produced, we have an idea of the non-existence of the jar at present. Here there is a non-existence of the jar previous to its coming into being. This non-existence is removed as soon as the jar comes into existence.

The negation due to destruction is caused. Here the affirmative is removed and negation appears, whereas in the former (prior negation) the affirmation appears on the removal of negation. The proposition, "the jar has been destroyed," brings in the idea of the non-existence of the jar caused by its destruction.

Absolute negation is the denial of a relationship eternally. The judgment, "the jar is not," brings an idea of negation in the mind, which may be called absolute negation. Here a relationship of the jar with its substratum is denied without a reference being made to any particular time or place. In prior negation a relationship with the object negated (*Pratiyogī*) is denied at present. It has an implied reference to future affirmation of the *pratiyogī*. In negation due to destruction the relationship of the *anuyogī* with the *pratiyogī* is negated through some causality. But the absolute negation is neither conditioned, nor restricted to any particular moment of time or any particular point in space. It exists eternally at some place or other under the sun. The proposition, "the jar is not," means that the jar must be non-existent somewhere for all times. If the non-existence of the jar at a particular place is removed by bringing a jar from another place, then there is non-existence of the jar at the place wherefrom it is removed.

The absolute negation, as explained above, is different from that of the Old School of Indian Logic (Prācīna-Nyāya) and has hardly any parallel in Western thought. For according to the New School, though the judgment, "the jar is not," is a case of absolute negation, yet during the time when the jar is actually present, one does not judge that the jar is absent, *i.e.*, the jar is negated. It means that though the jar is present here, it is absent somewhere. The whole of the universe cannot be filled up by jars at any moment. Hence there must be negation of jar always at some point of the globe. The Old School, on the contrary, thinks that absolute negation consists in contradiction. Two contradictory attributes, for example, are eternally negated of the same substance. From this standpoint the Old School objects against the New School that "in the substratum of the non-existence pertaining to destruction or of previous non-existence, there is no absolute non-existence. The notion that there is no red colour in the jar where chemical action has not changed the colour, and the notion that there is no dark colour in the red jar, mean respectively previous non-existence (of the red colour) and non-existence pertaining to destruction (of the dark colour), but not absolute non-existence (of the red and dark colours respectively); for they are contradictory to the latter."⁷ In simple words, the force of this objection lies in the fact that in prior negation and negation due to destruction, say of the jar, there is only a temporary negation and hence there cannot be any absolute negation, *i.e.*, negation for all times, on the locus of these two kinds of negation, temporary negation and absolute negation being contradictory ideas.

Against this objection the New School urges that there is no proof of the above contradiction and hence

⁷ Swāmī Mādhavānanda: *Bhāṣā-pariccheda* with *Siddhānta-Muktāvalī*,

absolute non-existence can be present in the substratum of the previous negation and negation due to destruction. There is no contradiction, for example, between the judgment, "the jar will be," (previous non-existence) and the judgment, "the jar is not" (absolute non-existence). Hence in the substratum of previous non-existence there can be absolute non-existence.

In Western thought also absolute negation is not understood in this sense. What Johnson calls "pure negation" seems apparently to have similarity with the absolute⁸ negation of the Navya-Nyāya. But there is a wide difference between the two. For Johnson's first form of pure negation is the attitude of rejection of an affirmative proposition. The proposition to be rejected is not negative in form. Here "the negative element does not enter within the content of the assertum, but expresses merely a certain mental attitude to the proposition itself."⁹ We have found that the absolute negation of the Navya-Nyāya also expresses a mental attitude which denies a relation eternally, *i.e.*, the denial does not implicate itself with any particular moment of time, past, present or future; but the difference between the Navya-Nyāya and Johnson is that while the absolute negation of the former is negative both in form and meaning, the Johnsonian pure negation is so only in meaning.

Johnson's second form of pure negation, represented by a proposition like, "Wisdom is not blue," where "certain types of adjectives cannot be predicated of certain types of substantives," is rather akin to the mutual negation of the Navya-Nyāya¹⁰ "then to its absolute negation. For by mutual negation it means a negative judgment where the identity of the subject repels the identity of

⁸ Johnson: *Logic*, Part I, p. 66.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

the predicate. The proposition, "the cloth is not a jar," is an example of mutual negation. Here the essence of cloth or clothhood repels the essence of jar or jarhood. In this case the negation is determined by the relation of identity and by no other relation. "The cloth is not a jar" means that the cloth is not identical with the jar. Here, therefore, the differentia between the two is identity. The identity of the cloth differentiates it from the jar. Hence, mutual negation may be defined as "that non-existence the counterpositiveness of which is determined by the relation of identity." It is evident that such a negative (the judgment that a cloth¹¹ is not a jar) is close to the judgment, "Wisdom is not blue" (Johnson's second form of pure negation). In the former judgment the identity of the subject is the determinant of the negation; similarly in the latter, the essence of the term, wisdom, is the determinant of the negation that blue cannot be a quality of it.

Previous non-existence is not caused by anything, but is not eternal. It is not caused because, it is meaningless to suppose a cause for the non-existence of a thing which will come into being in future. It is not eternal for the simple reason that the negation will be removed as soon as the thing will be produced. Thus previous non-existence has no origin, but is not eternal and, therefore, is not absolute.

Non-existence due to destruction has a cause, but is eternal. When the jar, for example, is destroyed by something, it cannot be affirmed again. Thus non-existence due to destruction is eternal, but caused, and hence is not absolute.

Both absolute negation and mutual negation have

¹¹ Swāmī Mādhavānanda's translation of Viśvanātha's definition of mutual negation, *anyonyābhāvattvam tadātmya-sambandhāvacchinna-pratītyogitākābhāvattvam*.

neither origin, nor temporal limitation. The proposition, "the jar is not," is eternally true in the sense that some portion of the universe must be without the jar always; and similarly in the proposition, "the cloth is not a jar," the cloth and the jar can never be identified. Mutual negation is also called difference.¹²

Absolute negation has several varieties. The first is the negation of all the particulars of a class. The proposition, "the jar in general is not in this room," means the negation of any type of jar, blue, red, etc., in the room. The second is the negation of two different things, *e.g.*, the negation of the jar and the cloth. The substratum of the non-existence of both the jar and the cloth is the support of this negation. The third type of absolute negation is the non-existence of either of the two alternatives, *e.g.*, either the jar or the cloth is not. The negation of a particular variety of a species is the fourth kind of absolute negation. When we say that the blue jar is not, we have such a negation. The next is the negation of the counterpositive as determined by its non-existence in a particular relation in a substratum (*Vyadhikarāṇa-sambandhāvachchinna-pratīyogitāka-abhāva*). The jar, for instance, does not exist in the relation of identity on the ground. The negation of the jar, as determined by its non-existence in the relation of identity on the ground, therefore, is a case of such negation. A negation of this kind is *Kevalānvaṃśī* (a negation that exists everywhere), because the jar is universally negated in the relation of identity on the ground, which may be called its contradictory substratum considered from the relation of identity. The ground is not the contradictory locus of

¹² Cf. Hobhouse: *The Theory of Knowledge*, p. 155—"I conclude that negation is normally, but not always, equivalent to an affirmation of more or less definite difference; and the more highly developed, i.e., the more fruitful the negation, the more precise the difference."

the jar from the standpoint of other relations, for example, the relation of contact. There is a contact of the jar on the ground, when the jar is placed on it. But there cannot be an identity between the jar and the ground which, therefore, is its opposite locus (*Vyadhikaraṇa*) in the relation of identity.

The last kind of negation is the non-existence of the counterpositive as determined by the essence of its contrary (*Vyadhikaraṇa-dharmāvacchinna-pratīyogitāka-abhāva*).¹³ The jar does not exist as the essence of the cloth. Here the non-existence of the jar is determined by the special character of the cloth, *i.e.*, the jar cannot exist being possessed of the special connotation of the cloth. The differentia of the cloth and the jar is the peculiar connotation of the former. This differentia negates the jar to exist as clothness (*Paṭatva*). This type of negation was recognised by Sōṇḍala Upādhyāya.

¹³ The expression literally means a negation of the counterpositive as determined by an essence or virtue whose substratum is different from the substratum in which the essence of the counterpositive inheres. The jar (the counterpositive) is the substratum of its essence (*paṭatva*). Now, the jar is negated as clothness whose substratum is the cloth which is different from the jar, the substratum of its essence (*Ghaṭatva*). The cloth again is the substratum of jariness.

'KĀLIDĀSA AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES IN A TIBETAN REFERENCE'

By S. C. SARKAR

SUMMARY

[This short paper consists (i) of an English translation, in about 600 words, of a Tibetan passage taken from a cyclopædia of Buddhist Church historical traditions, entitled *Dpag. bsam. ljon. bsañ.*, compiled between 1722 and '47 by Ye. śes. dpal. ahbyor. Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. from ancient and early medieval Indian and Tibetan works,—and (ii) of critical historical notes on points arising out of the Tibetan statements,—in about 4000 words.

It would appear from these Tibetan references that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of King Bhāgabhadra Suṅga of Vidiśā, King Vīma Kusula Kadaphisa of Vārāṇasī and King Svāti Sātavāhana of Dakṣiṇātya and Aparānta, in the political sphere, and he married the learned daughter of King Vīma named Vāsantī; whereas in the literary sphere, he was a contemporary of Vararuci the Junior, Saṅku, Bhā-varmā (a Sātavāhana prince) and Sapta-varmā,—all grammarians of the Aindra school of Bengal, who popularised it in the Peninsula. It also appears that Kālidāsa was a junior contemporary of the famous Nāgārjuna (scientist and philosopher), Saraha-pāda Rāhūla-Bhadra ('apabhraṃśa' poet and Tāntrik philosopher), and 'Indra'-Dhruva (the historical 'reviser' of the Indra-Vyākaraṇa),—all belonging to or working mainly in Bengal. It further seems probable that Kālidāsa is identical with Aśvaghōṣa, (*i.e.*, Kālidāsa I=Aśvaghōṣa I, leaving out other Kālidāsas and Aśvaghōṣas), and that Kālidāsa was the son of Saraha-pāda Rāhūla-Bhadra, and was a native of West Bengal in the Prācī,—and some details about his family and family habitations are traceable. From these statements and consequent probabilities it would appear that the 'first' Kālidāsa has to be placed in the middle of the 1st century B.C., and the "Kadphises" period has to be shifted to c. 120 to

c. 27 B.C. (the 'Kaniṣka' and 'Huviṣka-Vāsudeva' periods being adjusted accordingly,—all this is in agreement with numismatic and traditional evidence); and the 1st Vikramāditya-Śakāri patron of the first "Kālidāsa" is to be recognised in Vīma Kusula Kadaphisa or Kadphises II (c. 67 B.C. to 27 B.C.), first established in Gange-tic regions and then conqueror of Ujjainī from later Śuṅgas or Kāṇvas and Śakas of the West. The references also indicate that Vararuci II was a native of West Bengal like Kālidāsa I, and that Kālidāsa was also a scholar and a grammarian, while his first two (or his only) works were *Meghadūta* and *Kumāra-Sambhava*. It can be inferred that Kālidāsa began as a Tāntrika-Śākta poet and ended as a Tāntrika-Buddhist poet and philosopher,—which would explain the Tibetan identity of Kālidāsa=Aśvaghoṣa.]

LITERAL TRANSLATION OF THE TIBETAN TEXT

King Bhāga-bhadra² was a friend and contemporary of Nāgārjuna, and Nāgārjuna³ was a friend and contemporary of Vararuci.⁴ Vararuci was in the Prācī,⁵ in the province of Rāṣa,⁶ where for 12 years he worshipped Avalokiteśvara.⁷ He did much good service in the countries ruled by Sāta-vāhana, the king of the west⁸ and by Bhīma-Śukala, king at Vārāṇasī.⁹ Afterwards¹⁰ he went to Dākṣiṇātya¹⁰ and became "purohita" of the king there.¹⁰ That king wanted to study Vyākaraṇa from Vararuci,¹¹ and the latter (by the grace of Śeṣa-Nāga)¹² composed the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini.¹³ [Only 25,000 ślokaś could be thus composed by the Nāgas' grace, for Śeṣa-Nāga was seen and he fled; whereupon the subsequent 12000 verses Vararuci himself composed¹⁴]. The whole book he offered to the king, who, however, did not believe in it, and asked his own uncle Bhā-varmā¹⁵ to worship Kālikā, and he doing it obtained (as boon) the Indra-Vyākaraṇa¹⁶ as summarised by Śaṅku¹⁷ and beginning with 'Siddho varṇa-samāmnāya,' etc., in 15 pādaś.¹⁸ This was, again, edited by Vararuci and Sasta-Varmā,¹⁹ and was known as *Kalāpa-Sūtra* (because compiled from

various sources, variegated like the peacock's tail), consisting of 25 chapters and 400 ślokas.²⁰ This was then presented to that king, who by studying it became a 'paṇḍita.'²¹

When Vararuci was the 'guru'²² of Bhīma-Śukala, the king of Vārāṇasī, his daughter the Princess Vāsantī (Vasanta-vatī or V.°-dharā)²³ was presented to Vararuci by that king, but she disliked the idea of marrying him being a very learned lady.²⁴ Vararuci thereupon wanted to humiliate her.²⁵ He searched out a handsome²⁶ but foolish shepherd youth (discovering his parts while he was cutting away a branch on which he was sitting),²⁷ changed his dress to that of a 'brāhmaṇa paṇḍita,' taught him to utter 'svasti,' and instructed him not to say anything else when he met the king. Vararuci introduced him as his 'guru'²⁸ and asked the king to think over and bestow his daughter on him (the 'guru'). But (when the king offered him his daughter) the 'guru' forgot the word 'svasti' and uttered 'uṣṭra'²⁹ ('u-ṣa-ṭa-ra'),—which sounds (syllables) Vararuci forthwith explained away as referring to divinities and conveying the meaning of blessings ['u' = 'Umāyāḥ (Umayā) sahito Rudraḥ', 'ṣ' = 'ś' = 'śaṅkara-sahito puṇi', 'ṭ' = 'ṭaṅkāraḥ Śūla-pāṇi (snai, and 'ra' = 'rakṣantu Śiva sarvadā'³⁰]. Then the Princess was bestowed by the king on that fool, and Vararuci departed for the Dakṣiṇa country.³¹

The foolish cowboy never spoke anything; but once in a sacred place, in the passages thereof, he saw figures of donkeys, sheep, etc., represented,³² and he expressed great delight; then it became clear that he was a cowboy. Soon the Princess' maid discovered him worshipping Kālī,³³ and the Princess hiding from behind (the image) threw a little of the chewed betel from her mouth at him,³⁴—which he ate, thinking it was given to him by Kālī herself; from that very moment he became a great

poet, scholar and grammarian,³⁵ and he now composed the *Dūta* and *Kumāra-Sambhava*,³⁶ and thenceforward became famous as 'Kālidāsa.'³⁷

NOTES

1. This is from *Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṅ.* by Ye. śes. dpal. ahbyor. Sum. pa. Mkhan. po. (lit., '*Bhādṛa-Kalpa-druma*' by Kulācārya Jñāna-śrī of Sum.), who compiled this cyclopædia of Buddhist Church History in India and Tibet (from Buddha to his own days) between 1722 and 1747 (working at it for 25 years), basing it on early medieval Indian historians of Magadha and Mālava, and other ancient Buddhist works, as also on original historical materials available to him in the Tibetan monastic libraries. The historically reliable character of the information collected by him I have recently dealt with in several articles in *J.B. & O.R.S.* (December, 1940 June and September, 1941) and *Indian Culture* (Vol. 7, No. 2). This Tibetan work was printed long ago in 1908 by Rai Bahadur S. C. Dās, but has never been critically studied before. At present there is only one copy of it available in Calcutta (R.A.S.B.); I used (in 1935-36) a copy on loan from a Lama friend for a short time, and also compared it with a Xylograph copy secured similarly on loan, and found full agreement except for obvious printing mistakes in the edition of S. C. Dās.—The present extract from the work may be found in pp. 87-88 of S. C. Dās' edition. I have translated this portion *literally*, except that unessential passages have been closely paraphrased in short.—References in footnotes to Tibetan sources are mainly from the same *Dpag. bsam. ljon. bṣaṅ.* and from *Mañju-śrī-mūla-kalpa* or *Tārānātha*.

2. The name may be translated either as Bhāga-bhadra or as Bhoga-bhādra; in Tibetan Xylograph 'bhāga' and 'bhoga' would be easy variations. From the synchronisms given here there can be no doubt that this king is the Bhāga-bhadra Kāśi-putra (probably also called Bhāgavata), the last but one Śuṅga king of Vidiśā, who reigned from 114 to 82 B.C., coming to the throne probably as a minor.

3. Nāgārjuna, according to Tibetan accounts, was one of the greatest all-India figures of the 2nd and the 1st century B.C., versatile in arts, sciences and metaphysics, secular scholar as

well as a spiritual saint. Tibetan works (of course based on and translated from Indian works) place him between 144 and 38 B.C. (lifetime of 106 years) (*e.g.*, MMK). The synchronism between Bhāgabhadra and Nāgārjuna is thus correct. Nāgārjuna is stated (by our author) to have worked principally in Puṇḍra-vardhana city in its Vihāra, specially when he was concerned with Chemistry and other Sciences along with his Bengali ('Vārendra') pupil Nāga-bodhi. This would largely explain how he could be a friend of Vararuci who also worked for long in Bengal.

4. This is Vararuci 'Phyi. ma.', the Junior, the Senior Vararuci being a contemporary of Mahāpadma Nanda along with Pāṇini, according to the Tibetan traditions; Mahāpadma, according to the same, was ruling in 406 B.C. (137 years after 543), having risen to power under the 3rd 'Nanda', *i.e.*, Śiśunāga king; the elder Vararuci was also a Buddhist, a sage and an author, and Mahāpadma had him killed; the younger Vararuci produced a *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini (contemporary of the elder Vararuci).

5. Vide *Ind. Cult.*, op. cit., for the meaning of Prācī in ancient Tibetan Geography. 'Prācī' excluded Magadha, Kāśī and Kośala, but included Mithilā and Aṅga, and from that the whole region up to and including the Indo-Chinese Peninsula was Prācī; the specific implication of Prācī was Bengal (*i.e.*, Rāra, Vārendra or Puṇḍra, Baṅgāla ('Bhaṅgāla'), Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and 'Cātigāvo').

6. *I.e.*, 'Rāḍha' as it is written in India in later times. So the Junior Vararuci, the contemporary of Kālidāsa, was (like him, as we shall see) a native of West Bengal. In Rāra, according to Tibetan accounts, there were important Buddhist monastic universities, *e.g.*, the Trikaṭuka-Vihāra, the ruins of which, our author says, were excavated in a later age. Even in the time of Pratāparudra and Mukundadeva of Orissa in the 16th century, a fresh wave of Buddhism passed on to Orissa from this Rāḍha country (of which there are still traces).

7. Vide No. 6 above; that explains Vararuci's Buddhist monk life for 12 years. Both the Vararucis were Buddhists.

8. 'The Lord of the West' is also the title given to the Śāta-vāhana king by Khāravela (to Śrī Śātakarṇi, 168—157 B.C.). The period referred to in the present account being roughly the

last quarter of the second and the first three-quarters of the first century B.C., the historical correctness of the title 'King of the West' and the countries ruled over by him being placed in the West and in the Deccan, is quite clear.—The printed edition of 1908 has 'Śānti-vahana,' an obvious misprint and confusion due to the proper name of the Sātavāhana king, Svāti, or its various Svasti or Śānti. Svāti is more or less a contemporary of Bhāga-bhadra Śuṅga.

9. This is an important historical reference. I take 'Bhīma Sukala' to be no other than Vima Kusula, (son of Kusula Kara), i.e., Kadaphisa II; 'Sukala' is an easy corruption from 'Kuśala', 'Kasula' or 'Kuśula', and may have originated from misreading of the name in some coin-legend or inscription or seal, wherein the 3 syllables were placed in a triangle or in a circle.—The 3 'Yakṣa' kings, Buddha and Gambhīra, of Tibetan references (e.g. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*) have already been identified with Kadaphisa I and II (Kuśula and Wima). '*Dpag. bsam.*' refers (p. 92) to the former's ruling from *Vārāṇasī* and receiving there an embassy from the Chinese Emperor; to the latter's rule over Sāgarī in Central India (Saugor, C.I.) where he patronised Ārya Asaṅga at the Uṣmapurī Vihāra (p. 97) and also to his (Gambhīra's) rule over Pāñcālā (p. 98); it also refers to one of the two kings' 'guru's, Mātr-ceṭa, same as Mati-citra and same as Aśvaghoṣa (pp. 109, 91, 92). For other synchronisms of these 2 kings in Tibetan references, e.g., with the Candras (Later Mauryas) of Bengal, vide *J.B.O.R.S.*, December 1940 and June, September 1941.—The location and synchronisms of the Kadphisis kings as given above are quite plausible historically.

10, 10, 10. I.e., after having his revenge upon Kadphises's daughter by getting her married to the as yet unknown Kālīdāsa (= 'Ma. Khol.' or Mātr-ceṭa, = Aśvaghoṣa, according to Tibetan references), he fled to the Sātavāhana court at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvarī, and became the 'purohita' of Svāti.

11. An easily intelligible desire, since (i) the Sātavāhana dynasty and realm was more in touch with Prākṛts and Southern vernaculars than with Northern Sanskrit, and (ii) Vararuci of the Prācī (Bengal) represented an ancient, apparently a pre-Pāṇinian grammatical tradition of that region, which due to the influence of the Buddhistic monastic universities, tried to make Sanskrit grammar easy and pliable for the general readers, and

justified unorthodox forms (*e.g.*, Aindra, Cāndra and Kātantra systems); also since (iii) the contemporary Andhras tried to imitate the foreign rulers of the North in their patronage of Sanskrit (which was thus introduced as medium even of Buddhist religious writings in this period).—As we shall see, whereas the 'elder' Vararuci is identified in tradition with the Grammarian Kātyāyana, and Pāṇini and Nanda are stated to be his contemporaries,—this 'junior' Vararuci is stated to be the originator of the composite Kalāpa system based on his own '*Mahābhāṣya*' and the Aindra system.

12. Vararuci being a friend of Nāgārjuna who came from the South, would naturally seek the divine favour of the great Nāga; this friendship must have been a good introduction for him to the Southern Court.

13. This would be the Prācī or Eastern Buddhist School's '*Mahābhāṣya*' on Pāṇini, as compared with the slightly earlier Madhyadeśa or orthodox Brāhmaṇical School's '*Mahābhāṣya*' by Patañjali. The differentiation became clear from the time of Nanda when both Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (Vararuci I) wrote.

14. This might mean that Vararuci added 12000 verses to a grammar of 25000 verses which he regarded as classical and authoritative, i.e., the standard work of the Eastern School to which he belonged. Possibly this work was the revised Indra-Vyākaraṇa composed somewhat earlier by Indra-Dhruva, a brāhmaṇa of the Prācī, in 25000 śloka (as Sum. pa. says elsewhere, as also Tārānātha), under the patronage of his friend Candanapāla, king of one of the Prācya kingdoms of the time, and a contemporary of Saraha-Rāhūla (*vide infra*).

15. This Sāta-vāhana prince Bhā-varmā is probably different from Sasta (Sapta or S(S)arva)-varmā below,—though the Sāta-vāhanas also claimed to be brāhmaṇas. Bhā-varmā's attempt was thus the second one to produce a primer for the Southern Court. It is clear that Sanskrit was already being used by notables in the Andhra court,—the uncle and the wife of the king being experts in that archaic medium.—'Kālikā' in the text here is probably a scriptural mistake for Kārtika (which is the general tradition).

16. The point seems to be that while the King was doubtful about the usefulness of Vararuci's first attempt, an earlier Indra-

Vyākaraṇa of 25000 ślokas *plus* his own supplement of 12000 verses,—his own uncle Bhā-varmā, acquainted with the special difficulties of the Southerners, yet used the same Indra-Vyākaraṇa as the ultimate basis, only he used an abridgment of it, while Vararuci used the whole work. This was evidently because the Aindra school's arrangement and treatment was more suited for popular instruction and less full of technicalities.

17. Śaṅku's summary of Indra-vyākaraṇa has not perhaps survived. Or, it may be that prince Bhā-varmā, jointly with Śaṅku, whose services he utilised, produced this abridgment of the bigger Aindra-vyākaraṇa,—and this began with '*Siddho-varṇa*'—etc., and was complete in "15 pādas".

18. It should be noted that the Kātantra (=Kātyāyanatantra) or Kalāpa grammar of later medieval ages contains 28 pādas, of which 3 are obvious interpolations; *vide* note 20 below.

19. 'Sasta' is scriptural variation for Sapta, Sarva or Sarva. The point is that Vararuci comes in again, and he helps in preparing the finally approved primer for the Sātavāhana court; he has now got that court's point of view, and has the further assistance of another Southern brāhmaṇa; the work became popular in Bengal also, as Vararuci was a Bengali,—and in the time of Naya-pāla and Candragomi, Īśvara(-varmā) produced a fresh edition of Kalāpa.

20. As noted above, 28 less 3 interpolated sections would make the 25 sections of Kalāpa known in earlier days. It is clear that Vararuci added 10 more 'pādas' to the 15 of Bhā-varmā and Śaṅku. It is not clear who is responsible for the 400 ślokas.—The explanation given here of the name Kalāpa is certainly more reasonable than the one based on Kārtika's peacock; this is the Buddhistic secular explanation as distinct from the brāhmaṇical mythological.

21. In about the middle of the first century B.C. the Andhra court becomes 'Sanskrito-phil'.; in a century however it becomes 'Prākrito-phil.' In between, between Svāti and Hāla, Sanskrit, associated chiefly with the foreign ruling clans of India, must have fallen into disfavour again as such,—*i.e.*, since the Śakas became bitter and successful foes of the Andhras and pushed them back from North and Central India; in the time of Svāti (*i.e.*,

of Bhāgabhadra, Kusula and Wima or Vararuci, Nāgārjuna and Kālidāsa), the Andhra position was much stronger, and they could lightly follow Saka-Yue-chi fashion of patronage of Sanskrit (probably based on Śuṅga reaction against Mauryan, and judged by the foreigners shrewdly as a potent instrument for undermining Buddhism as a national force while outwardly patronising it).

22. *I.e.*, after he had 'done much good service' (probably in the cause of Buddhism) in the Sāta-vāhana kingdom of Deccan, and apparently in the Śuṅga kingdom of Malwa also (Bhāgabhadra being Nāgārjuna's friend and thus his too); before all this he was for 12 years in Rāra as a monk; so he would be about 40 at the time when he repaired to the court of Bhīma at Vārāṇasī; and he must have left it shortly afterwards, say when he was about 45,—a suitable age for being rejected as a husband by a proud, educated young princess.—Like Vararuci, Māṭṛ-ceta-Maticitra-Aśvaghōṣa, all identified in Tibetan references with Kālidāsa (*Ma. Khol.*) are stated to have held the position of 'guru' at the 'Yakṣa' court.

23. Two other 'Yakṣa' (Yueh-chi) princesses are known in history; one is the mother of the Śuṅga King Bhāgabhadra-Kāśiputra (the princess of Kāśī here can only mean a member of the family of the two Yakṣa kings of Vārāṇasī referred to already, possibly a sister or aunt of Kadphises I); the other is the mother of Dharma-Candra of Bengal of the Candra or later Mauryan Dynasty and Queen of Śrī-Candra, also either a sister, or (preferably) an aunt of Kadphises I [*vide J.B.O.R.S.* December 1940, June and September 1941]. It would seem that Kadphises I (Buddha-Yakṣa) was not the first Yueh-chi emperor in India proper, and that this position belongs to his immediate predecessors; perhaps he bore the name of Kara Kadaphisa, while Kadphises I was Kusala Kara (and his successor Wima Kusala or Bhīma Sukala). It seems clear that this first Yue-chi conqueror (approximately between 120 and 107 B.C.) sought to secure his position by matrimonial alliances with both the Buddhistic later Mauryans and the Brāhmaṇical Śuṅgas, so that his daughters' (or sisters') sons would be ruling over the territories of the two dynasties still claiming imperial rank. This explains the middle position of the Yueh-chi kings between Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism, while the capital at Vārāṇasī explains their Bull symbol,

etc.—One thing is at any rate clear,—Kālidāsa was related to the Yueh-chi (Yakṣa), Śuṅga and Candra (later Mauryan) Royal Families. The growing Indian culture of the Yueh-chi dynasty is shown by the readiness with which Wima offers his daughter to mere scholars of monastic or literary reputation, instead of primarily thinking of politic royal marriages.

24. The age of Vararuci must have been a stronger reason than her estimate of his learning, as the subsequent incidents show.

25. This shows the Buddhist monk-scholar in a normal human mood. That is why he fled to the Andhra court as soon as Vāsantī was married. In tradition Vararuci and Kālidāsa are said to have been friends in the court of their common patron, a 'Vikramāditya'; it is quite understandable how sometime later on when Kālidāsa stood revealed as a great poet, the general reconciliation could take place.

26. Vararuci guessed that a handsome youth would be a catch, and learning would be a secondary point. It is something that we hear our elusive ancient great poet was an attractive person like Ravindra of our days; if he is the same as Aśvaghōṣa (as the Tibetan references indicate), some details are also known about the great poet's home town and province, and about his parentage and early life: briefly (*cf. Dpag. bsam.*, p. 91), his father was a brāhmaṇa named Saṅgha (or Saragha, Saraha)-guhya(-guha), and his mother was the young daughter of a merchant, who was given away in marriage (being perhaps in *loco parentis* to her,—*vide infra.*) to Saṅgha or Saragha by Pitṛ-dāsa the Senior, who was 'guru' to Śrī-Candra of Bengal (already mentioned as later Mauryan contemporary of Kadphises I); all three, and this event, belonged to and happened in 'the city of Khor. ta.' (probably wrong for Ahkhor. rta.=Wheel and Horse) in the Prācī (*i.e.*, Śrī-Candra's kingdom of Aṅga, Vaṅgāla, etc.); the Indian name of this town must have been 'Cakra-dhara-pura', or 'Cakra-baḍavā-pura' [*cf.* mod. place names 'Cakradharpur' or 'Cakrabeḍe'], or other synonymous combination; it is possible however to take 'Khor. ta.' as a Tibetan attempt to render a Bengal place name phonetically; *cf.* mod. place names like Khardā or Khurdā in that region. It also appears that the original name of Aśvaghōṣa=Kālidāsa was Kṛṣṇa, (or Kāla(ā)(ī)), and as he grew into fame, he acquired a large number of alternative appellations;

he was also called 'Pitr-dāsa Junior', after his mother's guardian. The 'title' Aśva-ghoṣa may be explained as "one who has made the town having the name of 'Aśva' (*i.e.*, 'Ahkhor. rta.') famous" or "the pride of 'Aśva'-town." It also appears (from *Dpag. bsam.*, pp. 84-85, with p. 91) that Saragha (Saraha)-guhya was also known as Saraha-bhadra, Saraha-wā (S°-pā) or Saraha, and as abbot of Nālanda (in which post he was succeeded by Nāgārjuna from Puṇḍravardhana) he was known as Rāhūla-bhadra. He was ranked by some as a Kṣatriya, but was the son of a Tāntrik Buddhist nun (Dākinī) by a Brāhmaṇa, born in the city named Rājñā in a Prācyā kingdom. He is also stated to have chosen the 'Yoginī' daughter of an arrow-merchant of Mahārāṣṭra as his consort for Tāntrik rituals [probably the same as the merchant's daughter to whom he was formerly married by Pitr-dāsa of Nālanda who acted as her father], and to have been the first preacher and populariser of Vajrayāna Tāntrikism (with Mahāmudrā, etc.), it being confined to Orissa court before this time (*i.e.*, the half century following Khāravela), and also the first to compose the Dohā class of songs for Buddhism, which he employed with great success in converting thousands, from princes to common men, to his new interpretation of Buddhism. [Some Dohās of Saraha-pāda have been preserved in Bengal, of course in somewhat modified dialect]. If, following Tibetan references, we accept the identity of Kālidāsa and Aśvaghoṣa,—we may conclude that the great classical poet of India had quite an extraordinary heredity, and an environment of intellectual aristocracy in touch with royal courts; and the creative religious poetry of his scholarly father (whose activities spread from the classrooms of Nālanda to courts of Kings like Śrī-Candra, Candanapāla and Ratnapāla, and to the huts of the poor), and the intellectual quality and emotional mysticism of his once cloistered mother and grand-mother, must have moulded to a large extent the stuff in the great poet,—to which the finishing touches were given by his scholarly and appreciative wife, the princess Vāsantī.—Could we now say Kālidāsa is but a name? There is a curious parallel between Ravindra's father the great 'Maharṣi' being a scholar and a religious poet and reformer, and the classic poet's father of repute in religious poetry and history. It would seem after all that Kālidāsa was a Bengali (and a Tāntrik Buddhist) by birth, perhaps born of a Marāṭhi mother. Cf. Caṇḍidāsa of

Bengal, who combines many shades from Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism to Saktism.

27. The story of a 'shepherd' youth may have originated from the name 'Aśva-ghoṣa'. What Vararuci could easily do would be to take charge of a bright but do-nothing wayward youth, being the son of a scholar whom he must have known very well at Nālanda or in Bengal, *i.e.* of Saraha the Abbot-Poet,—and pass him off at the foreign Yueh-chi court as a great scholar,—satisfying his conscience that it would not be a very great outrage. The 'branch-cutting' story illustrates the wayward, unreasonable nature of genius at an immature stage. On this slender basis all the other stories about inability to pronounce or understand Sanskrit words, etc., have grown.

28. He could surely be introduced as a 'guru-putra', if not as 'guru'; probably Vararuci *did* so, and was only trying (successfully) to conceal the as yet unpolished character of the youth. This would explain the readiness with which Wima and Vāsanti both assented to the proposal.

29. The 'uṣṭra' comes in in other Indian forms of the Kālidāsa legend also. The origin again seems to be in the name 'Aśva-ghoṣa'. *Vide* also note 32 below; possibly this eccentric son of a scholar-poet had neglected studies orthodox, and had been taking genuine delight in farming as a hobby,—and that is another good basis of the various stories making the poet a foolish cowboy at first.

30. The Sanskrit passages in the Tibetan text here are corrupt, and should be verified and checked from Sanskrit versions.

31. Obviously to avoid trouble, and no other court except the Sātavāhana one was then safe for him, since the Candras and the Śuṅgas were both allied to the Yueh-chis.

32. These evidently refer to the sculptured 'jātaka' friezes of Sārnāth (Mṛgadāva near Vārāṇasī) which were still fully intact; the future poet was evidently interested in the artistic quality of these examples of animal sculpture. Was Kālidāsa an all-round artist also, like Ravindra? His writings would rather indicate it. He (Aśva-ghoṣa) was a great musician.

33. *I.e.*, 'Tārā', 'Candī'. This is explained by his mother having been a 'Tāntrik Yoginī', and his grandmother being a Tāntrik 'Dākinī', as well as his father (Saraha-Rāhūla) being a

Vajrayāna Mahāmudrā-Sūdhaka. Vārāṇasī was also an ancient Śakti worship centre; Vindhyācala the great Śakti-pīṭha is close to it; Siva-Śakti gold miniatures of Indo-Scythic period are known. Probably since the poet regarded his powers as a gift by the grace of Śakti, his first work '*Kumāra*' (beg. with '*asti*',—whereby hangs another significant Kālidāsa legend), is practically a Śakti-Kāvya.

34. The princess was evidently educated in the orthodox Buddhist way; she came to scoff and stayed to admire.—It seems to me that Kālidāsa represents in himself a synthesis between Buddhism and Śakti-ism, which was made possible by his parentage and matrimony; taking Kālidāsa as identical with Aśvaghoṣa, this synthesis (with emphasis on Śakti-ism in earlier years and Tāntrik Buddhism in later years) explains on the one hand the great similarity in language and style between the writings of the two (now wrongly taken to be separate), and on the other the ability of the same poet and philosopher to tap Brāhmaṇical, Tāntrik and Buddhistic lore, episodes and legends, and to appeal to the minds of all classes of contemporary readers equally well. One reason for the late medieval separation of Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa may easily have been this that the synthesis, versatility and universal appeal of the poet was slowly forgotten with the decline of Buddhism in India, and the growing antagonism between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism in the six centuries after Kālidāsa (1st 6 centuries A.D.);—and while the Hindus remembered the poet as '*Mātr-ceṭa*' or Kālidāsa only (leaving out his other appellations), the Buddhist not only remembered these (*Mātr-ceṭa*, etc.), but in accordance with their usual historical practice, recorded as well the name of '*Aśva-ghoṣa*' based on his home-town, and stated the identity.

35. It is significant information that Kālidāsa was also a great linguist and scholar; identified with Aśvaghoṣa, this is clear and true; even otherwise, the combination of these three functions is not at all rare in Indian literary history; e.g., Vararuci II (cf. Vararuci I, who wrote *Viśeṣa-Vyākhyā Kāvya*), Bhartṛhari, etc.,—down to even Ravindra-nātha.

36. It is interesting to note that this version of the Kālidāsa tradition does not mention other works usually attributed to the poet; either the original Kālidāsa wrote only these two, or these two were the first productions of the poet (the one begin-

ning with 'asti' first, and that beginning with 'kaścit' second,—as another tradition has it.

37. *I.e.*, when he wrote these two, he used the variant name 'Kālidāsa', his usual name being 'Mātr-dāsa'; It was a sort of pen-name, with a pun on his earlier name of Kṛṣṇa (= Kāla(ā)(ī)).

WHO WAS THE FOUNDER OF THE VIKRAMA ERA*

By M. V. KIBE

Almost all the western scholars, and a few of the Indians¹ bring down the date of the composition of at least some of the Sūktas of R̥gveda to 600 B.C. On the other hand, some of the eastern scholars would carry back the date of Candra Gupta Maurya to the 16th Century B.C.²

Mr. Triveda is of the opinion that the Sheet Anchor of the Indian History fixed by Sir William Jones in the year 1795, viz., the contemporaneity of Alexander the Great and Candra Gupta Maurya, which is based on the similarity between the name Sandrakotus and him, given in the Greek records, and certain other facts, but which is not compatible with the original statements of the Purāṇas, which were also known to the Greeks, is wrong.³ The average period of 20 or 25 years assigned to each reign of the kings named in the Paurāṇika dynasties is also wrong because, (a) the reigns of some kings are known to be longer and, (b) some names of minor and unimportant kings have been omitted, which can be proved from the treatment accorded to dynastic names, even in the so-called historical period fixed by the western scholars. According to Mr. Mankad, the Sandrakotas of the Greek was Samudra Gupta, the son of Candra

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¹ Mr. Shethe's *Certain Vedic Avastan and Greek Traditions and the Age of R̥gveda*—A.B.O.R.I. Jubilee No. pp. 451-464.

² Mr. Mankad's "*Manvantara-Chaturyuga Method*" (*ibid.*, pp. 271-290).

³ Dr. Triveda's "*Sheet Anchor of Indian History*" (*ibid.*, pp. 581-592).

Gupta I, the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Hence the period of the Guptas is carried back by more than thousand years. According to Dr. K. P. Jaiswal, the Guptas were Karaskar Jats.⁴ As the Guptas revived Hinduism, which had gone down before the Baudhas, they were incorporated in the Kṣatriya-varṇa and may thus have come to be regarded as one of the four—say Agnikula-families, born out of the Agni-Kuṇḍa at Mt. Abu, but this story is of modern origin, so also, is the statement that the Vikramāditya was a Paramara of later origin. However, at least according to Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, which some scholars hold to belong to the 1st Century B.C., there was a famous king named Vikramāditya, reigning at that period.

Mr. Mankad in his paper already referred to² maintains that a Manvantara caturyuga computation of 40 years, was in existence and the years of the dynasties given in the Purāṇas, which are up to the end of the Andhra dynasty, are given in its terms. It appears that it was replaced by the Vikrama Samvat, after an interregnum of about a few years. The interregnum covered the periods of the reigns of Candragupta I to the beginning of the reign of Skandagupta II, who was the last Gupta King, who defeated the Śakas and Hūṇas. This will be presently supported.

If, therefore, the basis of the enumeration of the years given in the previous paragraphs has a solid foundation, which there is no reason yet available to doubt, the Buddha's death is carried to 1790 B.C. and of Aśoka's reign to about three centuries later.² From the Mauryas to the end of Andhras, intervenes a period of about a thousand years. An interval of about six hundred years must be regarded as the dark age in history which is now

⁴ Dr. K. P. Jaiswal's "*Imperial History of India*" (pp. 155-156).

held to be from the Mauryas to the Guptas—age now held to begin after the Guptas, who are held to have existed in the fourth century B.C. Indifferent attention has been paid to the references in existing literature for a history of India, based on newly discovered works such as *Kaumudī Mahotsava* and *Mañjuśrī Mūlakaḥ*. It has brought to light the Vakāṭaka Empire, but it covered mid-India only between 150 and 350 A.D., the pre-Gupta period as at present understood in accordance with the *Sheet Anchor* of Sir William Jones.

If, therefore, Candragupta I, or his son, Samudra Gupta be held to be the contemporary of the invasion of Alexander and of Selukas Nicator, a period of nearly three centuries is required to be filled up by the Guptas up to Skanda Gupta who all called themselves Ādityas or Vikramādityas² or simply Parākrama, a variant of Vikrama,⁵ Skanda Gupta I, took up the title of Vikramāditya. The names of those Imperial Guptas known up to now are Candra Gupta I, Rāma Gupta, Samudra Gupta, Candra Gupta II, Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta. The exact period to be counted being 275 years, to fit in Skanda Gupta with 56 B.C., the average reign of these, comes to about 45 years. Now it is known that Candra Gupta reigned for 7 years, Rāma Gupta only for a few years and Candra Gupta II for 51 years. Deducting these nearly 59 years of those three Kings, the period of the reigns of the remaining three averages 90 years each, which is rather too long. The only surmise possible is that like the dynastic names of individual kings given in the Purāṇas some names of unimportant rulers have been left out. It will be seen that the average for six kings is not inordinately long.

⁵ A forthcoming paper on Gupta coins by Mr. Diskalkar, Curator, Indore Museum.

In one of the previous paragraphs, reference has been made to the pre-Gupta, that is to say, the pre-Greek invasion period. The history of this period fits in well with the scattered information which can be culled from the *Vaṁśānu-caritam* of the Purāṇas, commencing from Manu Vaivaswata, *Br̥hat-Kathā*, which is now thought to be extant only in the shape of the *Kathā-saritsāgara* of the first Millennium of the Christian era, the Gāthās of Jainas, the stories in Bhāsa's dramas, the references in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* to Pradyota, Udayans, Vāsava-dattā, Vaccarāja and the antiquity of Ujjain from the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, at least from that of the Pre-Aśokan period and fit in well with one another. So also do the story of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, and the conquests of Raghu in the *Raghuvamśa*.

Only four acts of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*, which is the basis of the same acts of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* are available. Dr. Oliver of the Illionis University (U.S.A.) writes that Pālaka of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* was a son of Pradyota of Ujjain.⁶ This is based on Bhāsa's *Pratijñā-Yaugan-dharāyana* (Act II, Stanza 13). It appears from the stories of Bhāsa's *Swapna-Vāsavadattā*, and *Mṛcchakaṭika*, combined, that on account of Udayan and Pālaka being competitors for the hand of the daughter of the king of Vatsa, viz., Padmāvatī, there was revolution at Ujjain and Pālaka was overthrown. He also appears to have been a tyrant like his brother or father Pradyota; like him Candragupta II bore the title of Caṇḍa-Mahāśena.²

In the *Puñcāṅgas* the names of six founders of different eras are given. It is written therein that after a lapse of 135 years Vikrama Samvat will be replaced.

⁶ *The Trial of Cārudatta in Modern Setting*, by Lt.-Col. T. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University.

Ujjayinī was occupied by Candra Gupta II, but it seems that it passed out of the hands of his descendants, until it was re-conquered by Skanda Gupta I, who according to what has been hitherto displayed, reigned in the 1st Century B.C. According to Dr. Hemchandra Joshi, D.Litt.,⁷ an eulogy (प्रशस्ति) dated 63 V. S. has been found in the Deccan and 103 in the Punjab. He further says that mention of Vikrama is found in the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, and quotes Prof. Eggerton as saying that a King, having the title of Vikramāditya, reigned at Ujjain in 57-56 B.C.

Skanda Gupta defeated the Hūṇas, who may be identified with the Śākas or a mixture of both, and maintained the glories of the Guptas, and became the last prominent king of the dynasty. It is said, as already pointed out in the previous paragraph, that Vikrama Samvat was superseded by Śālivāhana, who started his own era after 135 years of the former's era. This Śālivāhana was no doubt a Sātavāhana, which was a Mahārāṣṭra dynasty.⁸ It appears that there is a strange mixture of dates in these two eras in subsequent literature which can be solved in the following way: Śālivāhana's era may have prevailed even in the North of the Narmadā but the sway of Sātavāhanas in these parts was interrupted by Kuśānas, Kṣatrapas, and others, who ruled over Ujjain. The subsequent king of these parts, who expelled or defeated the foreigners, was Yaśodharman, who also called himself Vikramāditya. The king, who according to Alberuni, defeated the Hūṇas at Karur, was this king. It appears from Bhavabhūti's dramas that the city of Ujjain had assumed a secondary place. This was probably after the Sātavāhanas had

⁷ *Vikramāditya*, by Dr. Hemchandra Joshi. D.Litt., (Berlin), in Hindi.

⁸ Jogalekar's "*Home of the Sātavāhanas*" (op. cit., pp. 196—205).

receded from these parts. The name of Malava Ganana, belonged to this period, and continued even after Yaśodharman.⁹ It is claimed that there is ample evidence for the presumption that Skanda Gupta I, was the founder of the Vikrama era.

⁹ Vikrama Samvat in *Sahyadri* (Marathi) October, 1943, by Dr. Altekar.

AYODHYĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA

By B. C. LAW

Geographical position

Ayodhyā or Ayojjhā or Ayudha is one of the seven holy places of the Hindus.¹ Fa-Hien calls this town as Sha-che and according to Ptolemy it is known as Sogeda. Its capital was Sujanakot or Sañcankot, 34 miles north-west of Unao in Oudh on the river Sai in the Unao district. In the Brāhmaṇa Literature we find that Śunaḥśepa speaks of this town as a village.² According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*³ of the Jains, Ayodhyā is also known as Vinitā, Sāketa, Ikṣvākubhūmi, Rāmapurī and Kośala. It is the birthplace of Rṣabha, Ajita, Abhinandana, Sumati, Ananta, and Acala. Seven Jain preceptors were born here. According to this Jain work, Ayodhyā was 12 yojanas long and nine yojanas broad.⁴ This town is situated on the banks of the Sarayū river,⁵ about 6 miles from the Fyzabad Railway Station. It is also a sacred place of the Vaiṣṇavas. Sarayū or Sarabhū⁶ of the Pali literature is the Ghagrā or the Gogrā in Oudh. According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, the river Ghargharadaha meets with the Sarayū and is known by the name of Svargadvāra. This river rises in the mountains of Kumayun and after its junction with the Kālī-nadī, it is called the Sarayū, the Ghagrā or the Durā. According to

¹ *Ayodhyā Mathurā Māyā Kāśī Kāñci Avantikā, Purī Dvārāvati caiva Saptaitā mokṣadāyilāḥ.*

² *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 3. 1 f.; *Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, XV. 17—25. Cf. *J.R.A.S.* 1917, p. 52 note.

³ & ⁴ *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 24.

⁵ *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bālakāṇḍa*, Ch. 24.

⁶ *Vinaya* II, 237; *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV, 101; *Samyutta* II, 135; *Udāna*, V. 5. The Aciravati was its tributary.

the *Mahābhārata*,⁷ the Sarayū issues from the Mānasa-sarovara. The Son and the Sarayū⁸ joined the Ganges near Singhee, 8 miles east of Chapra in Saran, between Singhee and Harji-chupra, two villages on both sides of the Ganges, about 2 miles to the east of Cherund and 8 miles to the east of Chapra. According to Alberuni, Ayodhyā is situated about 150 miles south-east from Kanauj. In the Buddhist period, Kośala was divided into Uttara-Kośala (northern Kośala) and Dakṣiṇa-Kośala (southern Kośala), the Sarayū being the dividing line between the two provinces. The capital of the Southern Kośala was Ayodhyā on the Sarayū. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*,⁹ the river Syandikā or the Sai between the Gumti and the Ganges formed the southern boundary of Kośala.

Rhys Davids points out that Ayodhyā had sunk to the level of an unimportant town in Buddha's time.¹⁰ Some think that Ayodhyā and Sāketa were identical but Rhys Davids says that both the cities existed in Buddha's time. They were possibly adjoining cities like London and Westminster. Ayodhyā seems to have been the earliest capital and Sāketa the next.¹¹ According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, it was 5000 li in circuit. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that Rāmacandra walked south from Ayodhyā to Pañcaviṭī. After killing Rāvaṇa, Rāma is said to have proceeded to Kiṣkindhā and thence to

⁷ *Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 155. The Sarayū is mentioned among other rivers:—*Rahasyāṃ Satakumbhāṇ ca Sarayūṇ ca tathaiva ca Carmanvatīṃ Vetravatiṃ Hastisomāṃ diśam tathā* (Mbh., Baṅgavāsī Edn., p. 821, 19).

⁸ Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 47, vs. 3—5, where we read that Rāma visited the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū.

⁹ I. Chs. 49-50.

¹⁰ *Buddhist India*, p. 34.

¹¹ Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Ed.), p. 91.

Ayodhyā.¹² Ayodhyā is described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as being situated on the banks of the river Sarayū in the land of Kośala which was a big *janapada* or country and the well-known town of Ayodhyā was included in it. Manu, the progenitor of man, is said to have built Ayodhyā which was 12 yojanas in extent and 3 yojanas in breadth. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, it took 4 days and nights to cover the distance between Ayodhyā and Videha at normal speed; swiftly moving envoys could cover the distance in 3 days. At a distance of one krośa (2 miles) from the capital city of Ayodhyā, was situated Nandigrāma where Bharata ruled over the people of Ayodhyā during Rāma's exile. The *Rāmāyaṇa* further points out that 3 days and 3 nights were generally taken for swiftly flying messengers to reach Mathurā from Ayodhyā. Rāma's palace was half a yojana distant from the banks of the Sarayū.¹³

Chinese pilgrims' accounts

The Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, who visited Ayodhyā in the 5th century A.D., saw the Buddhists and the Brāhmaṇas not in good terms. He also saw a tope there where the four Buddhas walked and sat.¹⁴ Another Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D. after travelling more than 600 li and crossing the Ganges to the south, reached the Ayudhā or Ayodhyā country. According to him, Ayodhyā was the temporary residence of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. He says that Ayudhā is Sāketa, *i.e.*, Ayodhyā. The country yielded good crops, was luxuriant in fruit and flower and had a genial climate. The people had agreeable ways, were fond of good work and devoted to practical learning. There were more than 100 Buddhist monasteries

¹² *Mahābhārata*, Bāṅgavāsī Ed., 543, 52-70.

¹³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, (Bāṅgavāsī Ed.), p. 1466, 1.

¹⁴ Legge, *Travels of Fa-Hien*, pp. 54-55.

and more than 3000 Brethren who were students of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. There were 10 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were few in number. Within the capital was the old monastery in which Vasubandhu composed various Śāstras. There was a hall in ruins where Vasubandhu explained Buddhism to princes and monks who used to come from other countries. Close to the Ganges was a large Buddhist monastery with an Aśoka tope to mark the place at which the Buddha preached to Devas and men for 3 months on the excellent doctrines of his religion. Four or five li west from this monastery was a Buddha relic tope and to the north of the tope were the remains of an old monastery where the *Sautrāntika-vibhāsā-śāstra* was composed. In a mango-grove 5 or 6 li to the south-west of the city was the old monastery in which Asaṅga learnt and taught. The three Buddhist treatises referred to by Yuan Chwang were communicated to Asaṅga by Maitreya, viz., *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*, *Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* and *Madhyanta-vibhāga śāstra*. About 100 paces to the north-west of the mango-grove was a Buddha relic tope. Asaṅga, according to the pilgrim, began his Buddhist religious career as a Mahīsāsaka and afterwards became a Mahāyānist. Vasubandhu began his career in the School of the Sarvāstivādins. The Chinese pilgrim also refers to an old monastery 40 li north-west from Asaṅga's chapel. Within this a brick-tope marked the place at which the conversion of Vasubandhu to Mahāyānism began. After the death of Asaṅga, Vasubandhu composed several treatises, expounding and defending Mahāyānism. He died at Ayodhyā at the age of 83.¹⁵

Ajodhyā in the Epics

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ayodhyā was a city full

¹⁵ Watters on Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 354—9.

of wealth and paddy. It had spacious streets and roads. Its streets were well-watered and looked gay with flowers. It had lofty gates furnished with doors and bolts amidst the net-work of its streets. Furnished with all kinds of equipments, it looked like a bulwork with its defences. It was the home of a large number of skilful persons trained in arts and crafts. It was full of palatial buildings, green bowers and mango-groves. Around all these, a long row of *śāla* trees looked like a girdle. The city was rendered impregnable being surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water. Animals useful to men like horses and elephants, cows, camels and asses could all be found there in large number. It had in it merchants from different countries, feudatory chiefs and princes from all quarters. Splendid with its stately mansions, it had a large number of pinnacled houses. The city had lofty seven storied buildings inlaid with gold and precious stones. It was a crowded city and frequently resounded by the drums and the notes of the harp and other musical instruments. It had a galaxy of great men, benevolent sages, and virtuous people. This blissful city had Kamboja horses and mighty elephants. Men of rank could be found in the city moving in chariots, horses and elephants. The parks and pleasure-gardens were resorts of lovers, where merry folk used to gather in the evening.¹⁶ In the *Mahābhārata*, the city of Ayodhyā is given the epithet of '*pūṇyalakṣaṇā*,' that is, endowed with auspicious signs. It was a delightful spot on earth and its sparkling splendour looked like the shining moon in autumn.¹⁷

Social History

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* there were four grades of social order, *e.g.*, the Brāhmaṇas, the Kṣatriyas, the

¹⁶ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 309, vv. 22—24.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6, vv. 90—98.

Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. They had to fulfil duties and obligations of the respective orders.¹⁸ The Kṣatriyas obeyed the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas followed the Kṣatriyas, and the Śūdras served the three upper castes.¹⁹ The Kṣatriyas like the Brāhmaṇas had to perform the worship thrice daily. The Brāhmaṇas occupied the most exalted position in the social order of the age. Being placed at the highest rung of the ladder, the special privileges that were denied to the Kṣatriyas, were however enjoyed by them. Thus the Brāhmaṇas alone had the right to master the four Vedas and used the sacred sound *Oṃkāra* and *Vaṣaṭkāra*.²⁰ The Brāhmaṇas had also the right to study not merely the sacred scriptures meant for their own class but also to acquire the sciences and arts intended for the Kṣatriyas.²¹

Ordinarily birth in a family determined once for all the caste of a man. Transgression of this rule was, however, allowed in special cases. Thus the sage Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya by birth, became a Brāhmaṇa(?) by dint of his extraordinary merit and was accepted in the rank of a Brāhmaṇa by his great rival Vaśiṣṭha.²² The instance of Aśmaka, a royal sage, born from the union of sage Vaśiṣṭha with a Kṣatriya queen of the Ikṣvāku ruler of Ayodhyā, as related in the *Mahābhārata*, shows that offsprings born of such *asavarṇa* union were not unknown.²³ In the code of Manu we find mention of such *asavarṇa* marriages of the *anuloma* and *pratiloma* types.

The Brāhmaṇas were exempted from capital punishment.²⁴ The robbing of their property was con-

¹⁸ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 114, v. 23.

¹⁹ *Mbh.* 171-72, 23—47.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16, vv. 16—19.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114, v. 23.

²² *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 114, v. 27.

²³ *Mbh.*, 171-72, 23—47.

²⁴ *Rāmāyaṇa*, 13⁹¹, v. 34.

sidered to be a heinous act according to the public opinion of the time.²⁵ They lived on vegetable diet.²⁶

Famine was rare in the city of Ayodhyā. The people were free from diseases. Premature death was unknown. Everyone was charitably disposed and all residents whether male or female used ornaments. Malpractices were unknown and people were faithful in the observance of sacrificial rites.²⁷ People were loyal, faithful, and hospitable to their guests. They used to enjoy a long lease of life with their wives, sons and grandsons. The sick and the destitute were treated to sumptuous dinner. Food and dress were freely given to all during the sacrifice. Walking in circle around a dignified person before parting was the common way of paying homage.²⁸ In a *śraddha* ceremony a large number of cows, gold and other riches were given to the Brāhmaṇas.²⁹ Extortion was utterly unknown.³⁰ During the coronation ceremony, the streets were richly decorated and illuminated,³¹ musical instruments were played and the Brāhmaṇas used to chant sweet benedictions. The coronation ceremony was held in an auspicious hour with good stars on a favourable day. Thus Rāma was installed as king by the family priest Vaśiṣṭha and others on a suitable day with the favourable star *Śravaṇa*.³²

Various evil-killing rites were performed.³³ To follow elder brothers was the golden rule for the younger

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1392, vv. 48-49.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1404-5, vv. 26-27.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15, vv. 10-12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 39.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 126, vv. 21-25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 136, v. 24.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150, vv. 17-18.

³² *Mbh.*, 543, 52-70.

³³ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 208, vs. 46-47.

brothers.³⁴ Earning money by selling lac, flesh, honey, iron or poison was considered abominable.³⁵ The offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was a common custom,³⁶ and the offering of watery oblations in honour of the departed ancestors was prevalent.³⁷ Jealousy among rival brothers was not unknown. It was a common-place occurrence that a wife should cling to her beloved, a friend should act in a like manner. For a brother to stick to his brother and act in a reciprocal way was something uncommon.³⁸

Devotion to husband was considered as the highest virtue for married women.³⁹ According to the orthodox ideal of the age, the amorous look from other's eyes, the faintest touch from a member of the opposite sex other than her husband would have a sinister influence on the good reputation of a chaste wife.⁴⁰

No act of violence should be committed on the weak and the helpless and specially on women. Such unchivalrous conduct looked like an act of cowardice. Stealing others' wives by treachery was an offence.⁴¹ Respectable ladies never exposed themselves to public view. Seclusion of women within the confines of the inner apartment was the usual rule. If necessity arose, they would move in palanquins or some other covered vehicles with adequate veils over their faces and requisite garments over their bodies. On no ordinary account could they come out to public streets by crossing the city gates on foot

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 240, 6.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 320, v. 38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 322, vv. 2-3.

³⁷ *Rāmāyana*, p. 372, vs. 26-27.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1158, v. 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 205, vs. 25-26.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1196, vs. 19-20; p. 1198, vs. 26-27.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1165, vs. 12-13.

or move with an open countenance.⁴² The exit of women before the public view was allowed for serving the needs of different kinds of *Vyasanās* like hunting, game of dice, etc. In times of war or public sacrifice on the occasion of the marriage ceremony or during the work of choosing one's partner from among a large number of suitors in an open assembly (*Scayamvara*) or in times of great distress or sorrow women had the right to come out of their harem and expose themselves to public view. The use of deformed men and women for the work of the harem was in vogue at the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.⁴³ The life of widow seems to be the worst lot, the highest curse for a woman.⁴⁴

There were expert barbers, as well as good musicians and well-trained courtesans, big merchants and traders at Ayodhyā.⁴⁵ Disrespect to Brāhmaṇas, parents and priests was considered to be a sacrilege.⁴⁶ Preservation of dead bodies in vessels filled with oil was then known.⁴⁷ King Daśaratha's dead body was preserved for sometime before its actual cremation by Bharata.⁴⁸

Religious History

At the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the people and the members of the royal household were on the whole religious. Religious sacrifices were performed and Vedic mantras were chanted. During the horse sacrifice of King Daśaratha, twenty-one kinds of sacrificial wood were prepared and set up by expert craftsmen; of these six were made of the timber of the *Bilva* tree, six of *Khadira*

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1185, v. 61; p. 1194, vs. 14-15.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 181, vs. 1-3.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1309, vs. 42-43.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1220, vs. 3-5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1267, v. 21.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1419, v. 3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 322, v. 4.

wood, six of *Palāśa* plant, one of the *Śleṣmātaka*⁴⁹ timber and the remaining two of pine wood. The sacrificial wood was covered with cloth and gold and worshipped with scented flowers. In a sacrifice many cows and a large number of gold and silver bits were given to the priests.⁵⁰ On the banks of the Sarayū, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa offered their morning prayers and repeated the Sāvitrī mantra at the instance of the sage Viśvāmitra.⁵¹ In the hermitage of Viśvāmitra, they performed the usual *sandhyā* and morning prayers and offered oblations to the sacrificial fire.⁵² As we have already pointed out, offering of oblations in honour of the departed spirit was the common practice. The Kṣatriya kings and princes used to observe ten days of *aśauca* or the observance of impurity caused by the death of relations.⁵³ Among the Brāhmaṇas, sophists were not unknown and followers of the hedonist school of Cārvāka were also found. Four hundred horse sacrifices, four thousand *Vājapeya* and numerous *Gomedha*, *Agniṣṭoma* and *Atirātra* sacrifices⁵⁴ were performed by some eminent kings of the Ikṣvāku race. Duly bathed, a Kṣatriya king used to offer oblations to fire, and make worship in adoration of his ancestors and Brāhmaṇas and then pray before the images in temples inside his palace. As regards religious rights the Śūdras remained on a low footing of inequality in comparison

⁴⁹ *Cordia obliqua*-*Cordia Myx* Linn Willd. A tree or shrub in all provinces, whole of warmer parts of India; a pretty large but low tree in most parts of Circars, but chiefly in gardens and hedges and near villages in Gujarat, North Kanara, Deccan, Western Ghats, etc. There are two varieties, viz., *Kshudra Śleṣmātaka*=*Cordia obliqua* and *Śleṣmātaka* or *Cordia Wallichii*. When ripe the fruits of this plant are eaten by the people of the locality.

⁵⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 31, vv. 50-51.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47, vv. 3-5.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 58, vv. 31-32; *ibid.*, p. 59, v. 2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 323, vv. 1-2.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1452, vv. 8-9.

with the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas. Śambuka, a Śūdra by birth, was slain by Rāma for making vedic sacrifices.⁵⁵

Jainism

In the history of Jainism, we find that a Jaina tīrthaṅkara named Ajitanātha was born at Ayodhyā. He earned the title of the "Victorious" for he was so devout an ascetic that he was unrivalled in performing austerities. He soon attained salvation.⁵⁶ A Jaina monk named Buddhakīrti was well versed in Jaina scriptures. He flourished during the interval between Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra. Once while performing austerities on the banks of the Sarayū in Palāśanagara he saw a dead fish floating. He carefully watched it and thought that there was no harm in eating the flesh of the dead fish for there was no soul in it.⁵⁷

Lord Ādiguru attained enlightenment on the Aṣṭāvata mountain near Ayodhyā. Twenty-four Jain images were established on this mountain. Dovinda Sūri while wandering at Serisaya took his bath in the Sarayū river according to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*. At the instance of the Goddess Padmāvati a blind artisan was employed to make an image of Pārśvanātha. Three great images were brought from Ayodhyā by air.

Buddhism

Ayodhyā was hallowed by the dust of the feet of Gautama Buddha who lived there on the banks of the Sarayū. While he was there, he pointed out to the bhikkhus, the transitoriness of the human body. He told them thus, "The human body is like a foam, and similarly consciousness, glamour, and human activities, etc.,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1420, vv. 3-4.

⁵⁶ S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 51.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

have no essence at all.”⁵⁸ The inhabitants of Ayodhyā saw the Buddha entering their town accompanied by a large number of bhikkhus. They built a monastery for him in a dense forest at a curve of the river Ganges and presented it to him. He dwelt there for sometime.⁵⁹

Political History

The *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to the kings of Ayodhyā and the system of administration prevalent there. It is interesting to note here the duties of an Ikṣvāku king. Aroused from his sleep at dawn by the hymns of prisoners and *sūtas*, a king was served with water for washing hands and feet. Duly bathed a Kṣatriya king offered oblations to fire and prayed before the images in temples inside his palace. After finishing the morning duties he used to attend to the business of his state and then go to his court where he would meet his ministers. The king with his ministers used to listen personally to the prayers and complaints of his subjects.⁶⁰ Worthy treatment was given to state guests including kings and princes.⁶¹ The king used to spend the first half of each day in doing the business of his state and the latter half of his time was spent in enjoying the company of the ladies of his harem.⁶²

The chief aim of a righteous monarch was to earn the loyalty and goodwill of his subjects.⁶³ He used to hear the report of his trusted servants and reliable courtiers in order to ascertain the public opinion about his government.⁶⁴ He used to redress the grievances of his

⁵⁸ *Samyutta Nikāya*, III, 140 ff.

⁵⁹ *Sāratthapakāsinī*, II, p. 320.

⁶⁰ *Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 1354-55, vv. 9—24 and 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1356, vs. 5 & 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 1363, v. 27.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 1367, vs. 14-15.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1364, vs. 5—7.

subjects as far as possible.⁶⁵ Nobody was detained or kept waiting at his door if he came to pray for something before the king.⁶⁶ He was assisted in his administration by able ministers, eminent jurists and men well-versed in the sacred lore. Punishment was always in proportion to the nature and gravity of the offence.⁶⁷ Life-long exile or transportation was an alternative for death sentence.⁶⁸

The king used to give private interviews to spies and special messengers for confidential talks. Divulging state-secrets, watching or overhearing such secret talks were highly punishable.⁶⁹ The succession to the throne was generally determined according to the law of primogeniture in the Ikṣvāku family.⁷⁰

Rāma's youngest brother Śatrughna ruled Mathurā which he founded.⁷¹ His younger brother, Bharata, with his two sons Takṣa and Puṣkala conquered the Gandhāra country. The cities of Takṣaśīlā and Puṣkalāvati were ruled by the two sons of Bharata.⁷² Candrakānta and Aṅgadiyā were ruled by the two sons of Lakṣaṇa named Candraketu and Aṅgada.⁷³ Kuśa and Lava were rulers of southern and northern Kośala respectively.⁷⁴ Śatrughna, Rāma's younger brother, installed his two sons Suvāhu and Śatrughātī as kings of Mathurā and Vaideśa kingdoms respectively.⁷⁵

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 1379-80.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1382-83.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1391, vs. 32-33.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1461, v. 13.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1457, vs. 11-12.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 387, v. 36.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1412, vs. 8-9.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 1455, v. 11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 1456, vs. 7-9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1462, v. 17.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1463, 10.

In the *Mahābhārata*,⁷⁶ the mention is made of sixteen celebrated kings (ṣoḍaśa-rājikā) some of whom belonged to Ayodhyā, namely, Māndhātṛ, Sagara, Bhagīratha, Ambarīṣa, Dilīpa⁷⁷ and Rāma Dāśarathi. In the *Mahābhārata* mention is also made of Ikṣvāku, Kakutstha, Yuvanāśva, Raghu, Nimi and others.⁷⁸ The pious Dīrghayajña was the king of Ayodhyā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled and performed his Rājasūya sacrifice.⁷⁹ Divākara was a king of Ayodhyā who was the contemporary of Senājit, king of Magadha. Both of them were contemporaries of Asimakṛṣṇa.⁸⁰ Ikṣvāku, one of the nine sons of Manu Vaivasvata⁸¹ reigned at Ayodhyā who had two sons, Vikukṣi-śaśāda and Nimi. From the former was descended the great Aikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā generally known as the solar race.

The Ikṣvākus, Aikṣvākus or Aikṣvākas are the titles of the solar race. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu.⁸² The Purāṇas give a list of the kings of Ayodhyā.⁸³

The *Rāmāyaṇa* genealogy, according to Pargiter, must be treated as erroneous and the Pauranic genealogy is to be accepted.⁸⁴ The Purāṇas say that there were two Dilīpas, one father of Bhagīratha and the other father or grandfather of Raghu, but according to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, there was only one Dilīpa, father of Bhagīratha

⁷⁶ vii, 55, 2170; xii, 29, 910—1037; i, 1, 223-4.

⁷⁷ Dilīpa II.

⁷⁸ *Mahābhārata*, 13, 227—34.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 241, 2.

⁸⁰ *Vāyu*, 99, 270 and *Matsya*, 50, 77.

⁸¹ *Vāyu*, 85, 3-4; *Br.* 7, 1-2; *Ag.* 272, 5-7, 18-39; *Bḍ.* iii, 60, 2-3; *Kūr.* i, 20, 4-6; *Vā.* 64, 29-30; *Bḍ.* ii, 38, 30-2.

⁸² *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, Wilson's Trans. III, 259.

⁸³ *Vāyu*, 88, 8-213; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 7, 44-8, 94, Hv. 11, 660; 832; *Matsya*, 12, 25-57; *Pad.* v. 8, 130-62; *Kūr.* I, 20, 10-21, 60; *Viṣṇu* IV, 2, 3, 4, 49.

⁸⁴ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 92 ff.

and great-grandfather of Raghu. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Raghu was the father of Kalmāṣapāda and Aja is placed twelve generations below Raghu but the Purāṇas make Aja son of Raghu. The *Raghuvamśa*⁸⁵ supports the Purāṇas that Aja was the son of Raghu. The *Rāmāyaṇa* makes Kakutstha son of Bhagīratha and grandson of Dilīpa but the Purāṇas say that he was the son of Śasāda. The *Mahābhārata* supports the Purāṇas.⁸⁶ The *Raghuvamśa*⁸⁷ also supports the Purāṇas in saying that from his time the kings had borne the title of Kākutstha and that Dilīpa was his descendant.

From Daśaratha to Ahīnagu there is general agreement. After Ahīnagu, most of the Purāṇas give a list of some twenty kings Pāripātra to Brhadbala agreeing in their names though some of the lists are incomplete towards the end.⁸⁸

The Aikṣvāku genealogy of Ayodhyā mentions the following kings:—(1) Prasenajit who was the contemporary of Matināra; (2) Yuvanāśva II, Māndhātṛ who married Śasābindu's daughter named Bindumati Citrarathī, (3) Purukutsa and (4) Trasadasyu.

Jahnu of Kānyakubja married the grand-daughter of Yauvanāśva, that is, Māndhātṛ.⁸⁹

The Tālajaṅghas attacked Ayodhyā and drove the king Bāhu from the throne. Māndhātṛ of Ayodhyā had a long war with the Druhyu king Aruddha or Aṅgāra⁹⁰ and killed him.⁹¹

⁸⁵ V, 35-6.

⁸⁶ *Mahābhārata*, iii, 201, 13515-16.

⁸⁷ VI, 71-4.

⁸⁸ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 94.

⁸⁹ *Vāyu*, 91, 58-9. *Bd.* iii, 66, 28-9. *Harivamśa*, 27, 1421-3; 32, 1761-62; *Brahmāṇḍa*, 10, 19-20, 13, 87.

⁹⁰ *Harivamśa*, 32, 1837-38. *Br.* 13, 149-50. *Mbh.* xii, 29, 981-2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, iii, 126, 10465.

Subāhu, son of the Cedi king Vīrabāhu and Rtuparṇa, king of Ayodhyā, were contemporaries.⁹² Jamadagni allied himself with the royal house of Ayodhyā for he married Reṇukā, daughter of Reṇu.⁹³

Sumitrā was the last of the Ikṣvāku kings in the Kali age who was contemporary with the Buddha. The royal house of Ikṣvāku sank into oblivion at the time of this king.⁹⁴

The kings of Ayodhyā were connected with the Vasiṣṭha family. The Vasiṣṭhas were their hereditary priests.⁹⁵ The earliest Vasiṣṭha was the famous priest of Ayodhyā in the reigns of Trayyāruṇa, Satyavrata-Trisāṅku and Hariścandra.⁹⁶ The next great Vasiṣṭha was the priest of Ayodhyā in the time of Hariścandra's successor Bāhu who was driven from his throne by the Haihaya-Tālajaṅghas aided by the Śakas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Pāradas and Pahlavas from the north-west but Vasiṣṭha maintained his position.

Mitrasaha Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa, king of Ayodhyā, had the fourth noted Vasiṣṭha as his priest. The fifth was priest to Dilīpa II Khatvāṅga and the sixth was priest to Daśaratha and his son Rāma. King Kalmāṣapāda Saudāsa beguiled by a Rākṣasa offered Vasiṣṭha human flesh as food and was cursed by him.

Ikṣvāku obtained Madhyadeśa⁹⁷ and was the progenitor of the solar race,⁹⁸ with its capital at Ayodhyā.

⁹² *Ibid.*, iii, 64, 2531, 65, 2576; *Vā.*, 88, 174; *Bḍ.* iii, 63, 173; *Br.*, 8, 80; *HV.*, 15, 815.

⁹³ *Pad.*, VI, 268, 8, 73-74; 269, 158.

⁹⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 309.

⁹⁵ *Bḍ.* iii, 48, 29; *Viṣ.*, iv, 3. 18. *Pad.*, vi, 219, 44.

⁹⁶ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 205.

⁹⁷ *Br.*, 7, 20. *HV.*, 10634.; *Siv.*, vii, 60, 17; *Vā.*, 85, 21.

⁹⁸ *Matsya*, 12. 15; *Pad.*, v, 8. 120.

The kingdom of Ayodhyā rose to very great eminence under Yuvanāśva II⁹⁹ and especially his son Māndhātṛ. The latter married Śaśabindu's daughter Bindumatī. He was a very famous king, a Cakravartin and a Samrāj and extended his sway very widely.¹⁰⁰ Māndhātṛ or his sons carried their arms south to the river Narmadā. The supremacy of Ayodhyā waned and the Kānyakubja kingdom rose into prominence under its king Jahnu. The Haihayas overcame Ayodhyā. The foreign tribes settled there after Ayodhyā was conquered.

Ayodhyā rose to prominence again under Amśumant's second successor Bhagīratha and Bhagīratha's third successor Ambarīṣa Nābhāgi.¹⁰¹

Of the Mānva or solar kingdoms that existed originally three remained, those of Ayodhyā, Videha and Vaiśālī.¹⁰² These three Mānva kingdoms were not dominated by the Aila stock. The earliest Āngirasas were connected with Māndhātṛ, king of Ayodhyā, and the earliest Āngirasa Ṛsi was connected with Hariścandra, king of Ayodhyā.¹⁰³

Daśaratha called in the help of the rustic Ṛṣyaśṛṅga from Aṅga.¹⁰⁴ The eastern and southern kings and kings of the distant Punjab were invited to Daśaratha's sacrifice at Ayodhyā. Ayodhyā and the Vaśiṣṭhas had no association then with the brahmanically elite region as Pargiter points out.¹⁰⁵ The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to the camp of Nanda in Ayodhyā.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁹ *Mahābhārata*, iii, 126.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, 126, 10462.

¹⁰¹ *Br.*, 78, 55—77; *Pad.*, vi, 22, 7—18; *Lg.*, i, 66, 21-2; *Vā.*, 88, 171-2.

¹⁰² *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

¹⁰⁴ *Rāmāyaṇa*, i, 9 and 10.

¹⁰⁵ *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 314.

¹⁰⁶ Tawney's Ed., I, p. 37.

In Buddhism we find that there was a king of Ayodhyā named Kālasena whose city was surrounded by ten sons of Andhakaveṇhu (Andhakaveṇhudāsaputtā dasabhātikā) who uprooted the trees, pulled down the wall, captured the king and brought his kingdom under their sway.¹⁰⁷ The city of Ayujjha was governed by the descendants of king Arindama.¹⁰⁸

In Jainism we find that Prasannajita, a king of Ayodhyā, give his daughter named Prabhāvatī in marriage to Pārśvanātha.¹⁰⁹

Ayodhyā seems to have been included within the kingdom of Puṣyamitra Suṅga. An inscription found at Ayodhyā mentions the fact that Puṣyamitra performed two horse-sacrifices or *aśvamedhas* during his reign.¹¹⁰ According to a spurious Gayā plate, Ayodhyā was the seat of a Gupta *jayaskandhāvāra* or 'Camp of victory,' as early as the time of Samudra Gupta. Some coins of Pura Gupta have on the reverse the legend, "Śrī Vikramaḥ," which may be a shorter form of the full title '*Vikramāditya*'. Allan identifies¹¹¹ him with king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā, father of Bālāditya, who was a patron of Buddhism through the influence of Vasubandhu. It may be assumed on the basis of this identification that the immediate successors of Skanda Gupta had a capital at Ayodhyā probably till the rise of the Maukharis.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *Jātaka* (Fausböll), IV, pp. 82-83.

¹⁰⁸ *Vamsatthapakāsinī* (PTS), Vol. I, p. 127.

¹⁰⁹ S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 48.; C. J. Shah (*Jainism in North India*, p. 83) considers this to be a misconception.

¹¹⁰ *E. I.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.

¹¹¹ Cf. *B. M. C.*, Gupta Coins, p. cxxii.

¹¹² Rai Chaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th Ed., pp. 495-496,

Ayodhyā Coins

A large number of coins were found on the site of Ayodhyā. These coins fall under three classes.¹¹³ The first and the earliest consists of a few rare cast pieces, of which three types are known. The first type is known from one piece only;¹¹⁴ it has a flower on the obverse and a plain reverse, and may not be a coin at all, but an ornament. Type II is only known from a unique specimen in the Museum,¹¹⁵ the obverse type is a *svastika* which connects it with type III, and the symbol on the reverse is well known from several series of punch-marked coins. The square coin published by H. Rivett-Carnac,¹¹⁶ (obverse *svastika*, rev. *bull*) is probably also a coin of this series. Type III is the commonest of this class: the obverse, a *svastika* over a fish, is connected by the former symbol with the preceding type; the roughness of the casting makes it difficult to break up the reverse type into its component symbols. These coins probably contain a crescent or a taurine symbol above a steelyard, but might be a taurine symbol over an axe. The former is the more probable explanation, and the occurrence of the steelyard suggests that these are local coins of the city, as distinct from the dynastic issues; they may be compared with the Taxila pieces bearing a steelyard. Their date may be conjectured to be the third century B.C.

The remaining coins of Ayodhyā are inscribed with the names of the rulers who issued them, and fall under two very distinct classes, issued by two separate dynasties, one of square cast coins showing no trace of foreign influence in their style and types, and another of round struck pieces which have types rather than symbols. The coins

¹¹³ Cf. H. Rivett-Carnac, *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, p. 138.

¹¹⁴ Pl. XVI. 6.

¹¹⁵ Pl. XVI, 7.

¹¹⁶ *J.A.S.B.*, 1880, Pl. XVII.

of the rulers of the first dynasty closely resemble one another in style and are connected by their types. The obverse is a bull, or rarely an elephant, before an elaborate symbol not always distinct, which is replaced on the coins of the later dynasty by a ceremonial standard or spear. The reverse type consists of a group of five or six symbols. The characteristic symbols are a small 'Ujjain' symbol, a tree in railing, a group of four *nandipadas* in a square, a *svastika*, a river or snake and another symbol. Two rulers, Viśākhadeva and Śivadatta, have also the type of the *abhiṣeka* of Lakṣmī. The names of six rulers of this dynasty are known from their coins, which bear simply the Prākṛit form of the name in the genitive: They are Mūladeva, (*Mūladevasa*), Vāyudeva (*Vāyudevasa*), Viśākhadeva (*Viśākhadevasa*), Dhanadeva (*Dhanadevasa*), Śivadatta (*Śivadatasā*) and Naradatta (*Naradatasā*). At least one other ruler is represented by the uncertain coins on which the name is possibly Pāthadeva. The type of Viśākhadeva coin first published by Rivett-Carnac and now in the Indian Museum, has on the reverse a buckler-like object, a solar symbol with a central boss surrounded by a circle of dots within rims. This came from Fyzabad, as did all the coins published by Rivett-Carnac. No attempt to arrange these rulers in chronological order is possible, nor have we any literary or inscriptional references to them. They probably cover the second century B.C.

The third class of coins belongs to a later dynasty. From Rivett-Carnac and Cunningham we know that these come from the same site. They are round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression characteristic of early Indian struck coin, and very distinct from the coins of the earlier dynasty. The usual types are obverse: a bull before a standard or spear, which closely resembles the ceremonial spear on the *Aśvamedha* coins of Samudra

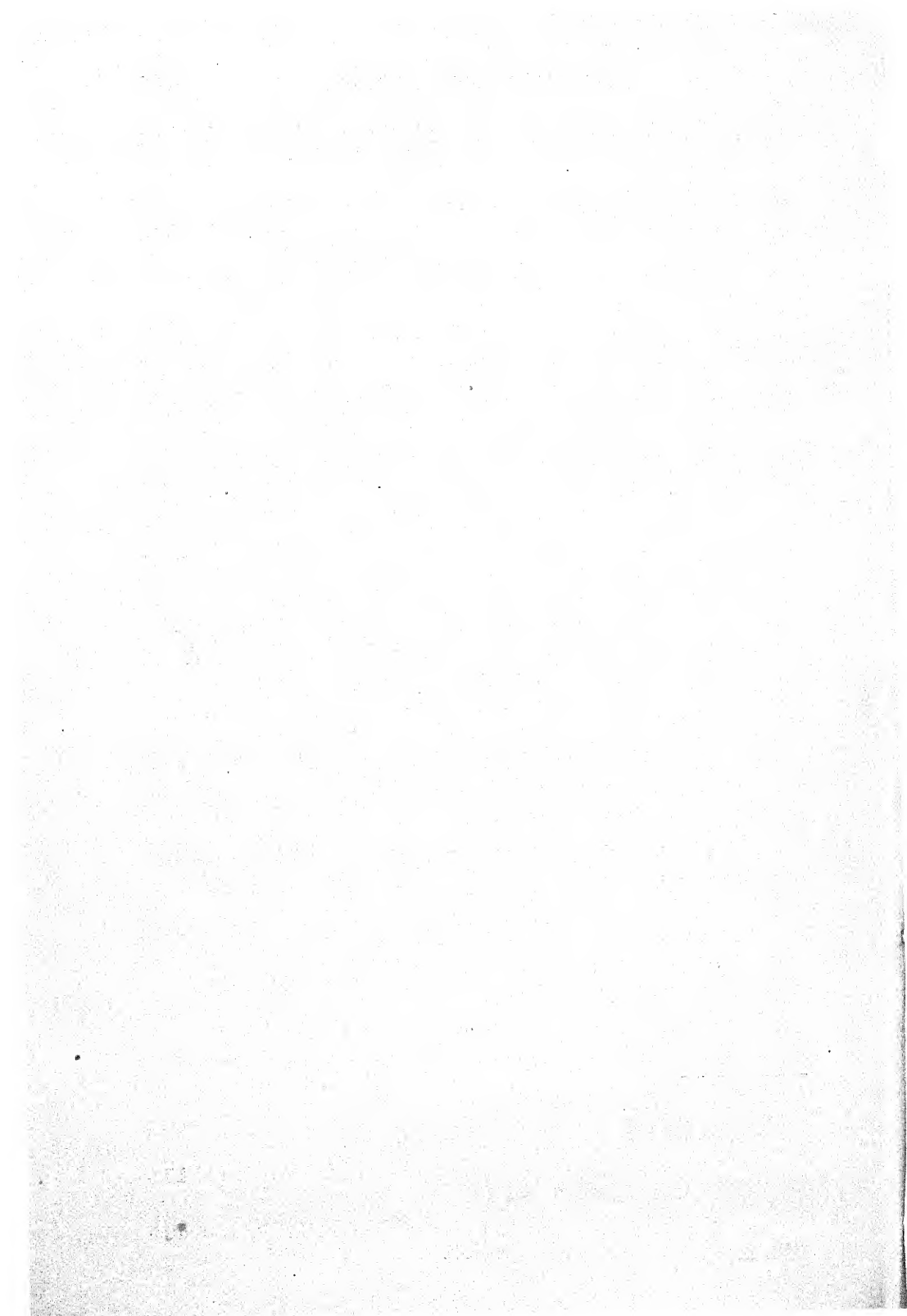
Gupta,¹¹⁷ and reverse a bird, usually called a cock but probably a *hamsa*, and a palm-tree with a river (or less probably a snake) below. These three elements are to be regarded as separate symbols and not as being combined to form a single type, as their proportions show. Another but rarer reverse type is an elaborate *nandipada* in a framework; the complete form of this type is probably something like the large symbol found on the coins of Almora. This occurs on the coins of Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṃghamitra and Vijayamitra. Vijayamitra is the only ruler who coins both types. On the coins of Kumudasena and Ajavarman, the object in front of the bull is probably a form of that on the coins of the earlier dynasty, a kind of triangular standard with cross-bar in railing. Kumudasena¹¹⁸ is the only member of the dynasty to call himself *rājā*; the others inscribe their coins with their names only. The rulers represented in the British Museum are Satyamitra (*Satyamitasa*), Āryamitra (*Ayyamitasa*), Saṃgha (*Mitra*), Vijaymitra (*Vijayamitasa*), Kumudasena (*Rājña Kumudasenasa*) to which may be added from the Indian Museum collection the names of Ajavarman (*Ajavarmaṇa*) and Devamitra (*Devamitasa*).¹¹⁹ None of these rulers is otherwise known to history. Their reigns probably covered the first two centuries A.D.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Cf. *B.M.C., Gupta Coins*, Pl. V. 9.

¹¹⁸ See Rapson in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 287.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, i, pp. 150-51, No. 16, Pl. XIX. 16 and 18.

¹²⁰ Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, Introduction, pp. lxxxvii—xc and 129—139.



UDAYOTTUNGA

By K. R. PISHAROTI

UDAYOTTUNGA, the author of the *Kaumudi*¹ on the *Locana* of Abhinavaguptapādācārya, is also the author of a love-lyric, called *Mayūra-sandēśa*.² He is one of the most eminent of our *Ālaṅkārikas* and at the same time the least known; and a note on this author in the light of the information available from the published portions of his works and from other sources cannot but be interesting to students of literary criticism particularly.

The late Prof. S. K. Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., has assumed that the name of the author of K-L is Uttuṅgodaya.³ Presumably, the name appears to be Udayottuṅga. In the first place, Uttuṅga is found used as a titular name elsewhere also.⁴ In the second place, *Udaya*, epigraphical evidence shows, is found used by certain families as a surname, indicative of their lineage from, or close association with, the ancient *Ceras*. Thirdly, there are vestiges of the family name of *Udaya* still persisting in the names of certain towns and villages in the locality.⁵ And lastly, the expression *uttuṅgādudayakṣamābhṛtaḥ* could

¹ The first sixty-four pages of the text of *KU* has been published as the first *fascicule* by the late Prof. Mm. S. K. Sastry. and this, indeed, shows the extraordinary scholarship and erudition of the author.

² Extracts from *MS.* have lately been published by Dr. C. K. Raja in *MW.* of the 13th June and then again of the 29th August 1943.

³ *Vide* introduction to the edition of K-L. This view is presumably supported by Dr. Raja also in the two contributions, mentioned in note 2 *ante*.

⁴ Compare the name, for instance, Kulottuṅga Cola, 1072—1118 A.D.

⁵ *Vide* paragraph following the next.

well mean the *Udaya* king, named Uttuṅga. These would show that the name of the author was Uttuṅga, and *not* Udaya, and that he belonged to the *Udaya* royal family.

This *Udaya* royal family, *alias*, *Villārvattam-svarūpam*, had their headquarters at Udayampērūr, about six miles to the east of Trippunithura, which, in church history, is famous for the synod of diamper under Archbishop Menezes towards the close of the sixteenth century.⁶ The family traces its descent from *Śrī Kanṭha*,⁷ a mythical ancestor, and presumably who was *Sāmanta*, i.e., non-Kṣatriya, by caste. The territories, over which the family held sway, extended roughly from Udayanāpuram, near Vaikham, in the south to about Crāṅganore in the north. It lay westwards of the *Kurū-svarūpam* towards the backwaters and comprised the whole of the sea-board *minus* the territories which belonged to the chief of Itappilly and the Kaimals, together known as the Anjikaimals, and it included among others the following places Cembil, Kumblam, Panannat, Elankunnapula, Cennamangalam, etc.⁸

Some of the place names are interesting and may be noticed in this connection : Udayanāpuram is Udayanapuram, the town of Udayana, i.e., the *Udaya* chief.

⁶ *Vide H-C.*

⁷ In *MS*, the author styles himself as *Śrīkanṭharāja* : *vide* article cited in note 2 *ante*. It deserves to be pointed out that, as our tradition would have it, the author and the Sandeśakāra are identical and, therefore, *Śrī Kanṭha* who sends the message of love must be identical with Udayottuṅga, the poet. Hence, we believe *Śrī Kanṭha* is the titular name of Uttuṅga, a name derived from that of the mythical ancestor of the royal family, in which he was born. This name is but unknown to us : compare for instance—

śrīkanṭhavamśakalaśāmbudhipūrṇacandraḥ.

⁸ This is the information supplied by my friend and collaborator, Mr. A. G. Warriar, Superintendent, Secretariat, Ernakulam in summary form.

Udayam-perūr is Udayana-perūr, *i.e.*, the great town of the Udayana king, presumably the capital. Udayattum-vātukkal, *alias* Udayottuṅga-vatukkal,⁹ is the seat of Udayottuṅga. Again, Udayottuṅga figures in the name of a local temple of learning—*Udayattuṅgeśvarapaṇḍita-sabhāmaṭham*¹⁰ which is more correctly *Udayottuṅgeśvara-paṇḍitasabhāmaṭham*; and, if the name is any indication, this centre of Śāstric studies must have been at least actively patronised by Udayottuṅga.¹¹ The vestiges, still persisting in the names of towns and villages in the area between Vaikham and Trippunithura, would indicate that the Udaya royal family, *alias* the Villārvattamsvarūpam, had their headquarters somewhere in this area.

The last chieftain of this royal family resigned his titles and privileges in favour of the royal family of Cochin, whose feudatory he was, and the circumstances which led to this incident are found narrated in a family chronicle, some leaves of which alone are now available.¹² The chief of Parūr, another feudatory of Cochin, insulted the chief of Villārvattam; and the latter, himself unable to demand compensation, went to his overlord, the king of Cochin, adopted him as his *anantaravan*, *i.e.*, heir and successor, and requested him to avenge the insult done to

⁹ The term—*vātukkal*—means seat or residence; and hence the term means the residence of Udayottuṅga.

¹⁰ The funds of this temple of learning have been utilised for founding the Sanskrit college at Trippunithura, over which the present writer had the honour to preside for six years from 1923—29.

¹¹ We say *patronised*-guardedly. For, according to a tradition current amongst us, this was a very old centre of learning and was once presided over by Prabhākara, the founder of the Guru school of *Mīmāṃsā*. Udayottuṅga possibly extended the scope of its activities and made it function better by increasing the funds at its disposal. *Vide* the writer's paper *Sanskrit Studies in Cochin*, contributed to *PC*.

¹² Unfortunately, it was a very damaged copy, and, what was worse, the pages were deranged.

himself and his family. The forces of Cochin marched against the arrogant Parūr chief, and in a short time defeated him utterly.¹³ This event should have taken place towards the close of the fifteenth century, and this is suggested by an incident recorded by the Portuguese. In the year 1510 A.D. one Thommaraja, a Christian approached the Portuguese, represented himself as the lineal descendant of the Villārvaṭṭamsvarūpam and hence the heir and successor to the family estates and titles,¹⁴ and requested them to reinstate him on his ancestral throne which had been taken over by the king of Cochin. This representation did not produce any result,¹⁵ but the date given indicates the period of the merging of the Villārvaṭṭam-svarūpam in the royal house of Cochin: it must have taken place sometime towards the close of the fifteenth century. When the tradition mentioned in the family chronicle is read along with the incident reported by the Portuguese, we get to know the circumstances which led to the merging of the family: *firstly*, the conversion of the heir-presumptive into an alien faith; and *secondly* the chief's incapacity to avenge the insult offered to him and

¹³ *Prima facie*, the incident narrated here seems to have taken place in 647 M.E. that is, 1472 A.D. It may, however, be mentioned that this dating is not inconsistent with the date advanced on other bases.

¹⁴ This would evidently mean that the last chief who made over the titles to Cochin must have been deceased by the time.

¹⁵ Thommaraja, the Christian pretender to the titles of *Villārvaṭṭamsvarūpam*, was encouraged to do so, because the Portuguese were also Christians and were interesting themselves in the welfare of that community, but more because they had great influence over the King of Cochin. Again, just about this time there was discord in the Cochin royal family also over the question of succession: (*vide the Cochin State Manual*). Certainly, if the pretender had any right, the Portuguese would have championed his cause, for that would have meant a Christian kingdom under their thumb. And this, therefore, is an indication that Thommaraja had by his apostacy forfeited his claims to the throne.

the family by the chief of Parūr.¹⁶ Naturally, therefore, the last chief of the family adopted the king of Cochin as the successor to his family titles and privileges, the bulk of the landed properties being handed over to his children, from whom is said to have descended the present Pāliyam family.¹⁷

We know that Udayottuṅga, the author of *K-L*. and *MS*. must have been alive sometime about 1480 A.D. as his reference to Uddaṇḍa clearly indicates.¹⁸ And, since the Svarūpam became merged in the Cochin royal family before 1510 A.D., we may conclude with a fair degree of certainty that it was this prince himself who handed over the family titles to Cochin. Himself not being a warrior, he could not avenge the insult done to him; nor could he prevent his *anantaravan* from becoming a convert to Christianity. Hence, Uddayottuṅga handed over his family titles to the king of Cochin and devoted himself to the gentler arts of peace—to poetry and literary criticism and to the organisation, rather development, of the temple of learning at Kumblam, known as *Udayatuṅgeśvara-paṇḍitasabhāmaṭham*. This, then, gives the date of the author of *K-L*: he must have been living in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and must have died before 1510 A.D.;¹⁹ and this dating is borne out by the reference to Uddaṇḍa.

The identity of the author of *K-L* and *MS*. and his contact with Uddaṇḍa explains Udayottuṅga's sending a

¹⁶ Presumably, this had something to do with the conversion of the heir.

¹⁷ This also explains the close relationship existing between the Pāliyam family and the Cochin Royal Family even unto this day. In olden days, the head of the family was the prime minister of the Maharaja of Cochin.

¹⁸ Cf. *VGC*. Chapter III.

¹⁹ *Vide* note 14 *ante*. This is the date of Thommaraja's representation to the Portuguese.

message of love and hope to a heroine, belonging to the house of Taccapalli in Annakara-deśam, near Kunna-kulam,²⁰ and Uddaṇḍa's sending a similar message to a heroine at Cennamangalam, the southern headquarters of Villārvattam chief.²¹ During this period and for sometime later, Porkkalam, near Kunnakulam, was a sacred shrine for all orthodox scholars, for there lived the famous Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris—over a dozen in number—and all alike distinguished scholars and poets, the foremost amongst whom were Maharṣi and his son Parameśvara, known also as *Mīmāṃsā-cakravartī* who has left his name behind him in a series of original contributions in the field of *Mīmāṃsā-śāstra*.²² Uttuṅga, himself being a scholar, was naturally drawn to this Bhāṭṭa-mana, where he came into contact with the great scholar-poet Uddaṇḍa. There the chief must have married a woman of the place, probably the daughter of the local chief, Kaṇḍan-kota, and to her he later sends a message of love in his *MS*. Cennamangalam was the southern headquarters of the Villārvattam chief, and Uddaṇḍa must have often visited that place at the invitation of Uttuṅga, and so he sends a message of love to a woman there in his *KS*.²³ These two *Sandēśas* together complete a geographical survey of Kerala from Kolattiri in the north to Trivandrum in the south. The heroine of *MS*. was Uma *alias* Māracementi,²⁴ a daughter of Kaṇḍan-kota of Cittaṇjursvarūpam.²⁵ She

²⁰ Vide the first paper of Dr. Raja, quoted in note 2 *ante*.

²¹ This is the theme of the well-known *KS*. of Uddaṇḍa, published by the Mangalodayam Company, Trichur. A short notice of this work is set forth by the writer in his *VGC*, that is being serially published in the *BSRVI*, Trichur, *vide* Chapter III.

²² The subject is elaborated in *VGC*, mentioned in note *ante*.

²³ As a matter of fact Uddaṇḍa's contact with Cennamangalam was a topic difficult to explain *vide VGC* cited in note 20 *ante*.

²⁴ Vide citation in note 14 *ante*.

²⁵ So far as we know there seems to be no justification for

must have been a well-known figure of the day, for she appears again as the heroine of the earliest Malayalam kāvya, *CU*. a work which has to be assigned to the latter half of the fifteenth century, as internal evidence shows.²⁶

To conclude: the author of *K-L* and *MS* must have lived in the latter half of the fifteenth century, married Umā *alias* Mārācemanti, daughter of Kaṇḍan-kota of Cittaṇjūrsvarūpam, handed over his titles and privileges to the king of Cochin towards the close of the century and devoted himself to the arts of peace, to literature and literary criticism and to the extension of the *Paṇḍita-sabhā* at Kumblam.²⁷

The writer here permits himself to indulge in a little speculation. The most important work on the rhetoric of Malayalam language is *LT*. We have elsewhere shown that the author of this work must have lived after 1401 A.D., possibly in the latter half of the century.²⁸ The erudition, versatility and critical acumen which characterise *LT*. are of the same order of merit as is seen in the *K-L*. May we not, therefore, identify the author of *K-L* with the author of *LT*? This is tempting enough,²⁹ but at present it is a mere speculation to be accepted or rejected in the light of a comparative study, when the full text of *K-L*. and *MS*. are rendered available.

assuming that Uma *alias* Mārācemanti was the wife of Kaṇḍan-kota, chief of Cittaṇjūr. The expression, *śrikanṭhorvipatibahumatam* as well means the daughter of the chief, and this probably was one reason why Udayottuṅga married her. Similarly, Dr. Raja's citation of a parallel from *US*, serves no useful purpose in the context, since there also Unṇinili was only the daughter of the chief of Vatakkankūr and not his wife. And note this *Sandeśa* does not say that she was the consort of Kaṇḍan-kota.

²⁶ The subject is set forth in some detail in *VGC*, already cited in note 20 *ante*.

²⁷ *Vide* the writer's paper on Sanskrit Studies in Cochin, *vide PC*.

²⁸ This is set forth in the writer's paper on *LT*., *vide* note 43, which is being published in the current number of *BSRVI*.

²⁹ *Vide* the writer's paper on *LT*. cited in the last note.

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RESEARCH IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : A REVIEW

By P. T. RAJU

(Continued from page 364)

It is maintained by some that the doctrine of Emergent Evolution is to be found in Indian Philosophy, particularly in the Sāṅkhya. One writer thinks that *tattvāntaraparīṇāma* is emergent evolution. The reader is staggered. If the writer is questioned he might begin drawing distinctions and concludes that the western conception of emergent evolution, if it is to be perfect, ought to be *tattvāntaraparīṇāma*. But we are concerned not with what emergent evolution *ought to be* for the west but with what it *is* in the west. Lloyd Morgan is the first philosophical exponent of the view. Indeed, Alexander, Hobhouse and some others used the idea earlier, but the first to use the term as a label for his philosophy is Lloyd Morgan. Later also other formulations of the theory sprang up. One important point we should not forget is that Emergent Evolution is a philosophy of the naturalists, that is, those who maintain a scientific attitude in philosophy or who do not leave the level of the natural sciences and uphold naturalism in one form or another. But it is doubtful whether 'naturalism' can be applied to the Sāṅkhya at all. As naturalists these philosophers maintain that life and mind emerge out of matter or, to use a more exact term, supervene upon matter. Thus emergence does not mean that they remain submerged for a long time and then later come to the surface, but that they are qualities which certain configurations of matter obtain. They are not substantives : they are not *sat* before they emerge. Unlike the Sāṅkhya, these evolutionists do not accept the

satkāryavāda. W. M. Wheeler writes: “ ‘ Emergence,’ in the following pages, is neither the manifestation or unveiling of something hidden and already existing, as in the common and etymological denotations of the word, nor some miraculous change,—but a *novelty of behaviour* arising from the specific interaction or organisation of a number of elements, whether inorganic, organic, or mental, which thereby constitute the whole, as distinguished from their mere sum, or resultant.”¹⁶ One more important difference is this. Lloyd Morgan himself writes: “We are not to suppose that this means that the atom develops into a molecule, this into a plastidule (or whatever it may be called at the level of life), and so on.”¹⁷ That is, there is no change of the lower into the higher: the lower does not *become* the higher. There is no *pariṇāma* at all, either the *tattvāntarapariṇāma* or any other. But then what is it that happens? The author continues: “Each higher entity in the ascending series is an emergent ‘complex’ of many entities of lower grades, within which a new kind of relatedness gives integral unity. May one say that each higher *com-plex* takes on the rôle of a *com-plex* in virtue of its integral unity; and that the higher the status of any given entity along the line of advance, the more do both limbs of the compound word, and the concept it names, get the emphasis indicated by italics.” Does the Sāṅkhya advocate anything similar? And if the Sāṅkhya doctrine of creation is a form of emergent evolution, why not treat the doctrine of *pañcīkaraṇa* as another, and so every theory of creation? Such comparisons and interpretations are of little value, and are positive hindrances to true understanding. They are superficial and depend merely upon

¹⁶ Quoted in McDougall's *Modern Materialism and Emergent Evolution*, p. 233.

¹⁷ *Emergent Evolution*, p. 11.

the etymological meaning of the word, and not upon a systematic understanding of the concept. The idea is detached from its context or universe of discourse, and most of its significance is lost. This universe of discourse is the philosophical outlook of naturalism, in which the concept grew and took form.

Another example of such work which probably does not go beyond labelling is the interpretation of the Advaita as Holism after the famous book, *Holism and Evolution*, of General Smuts. The only reason I can imagine for calling Śaṅkara's philosophy Holism is that his *Brahman* is *pūrṇa* or completely or whole. There is little else common between it and western Holism. Holism is a philosophy of evolution, according to which evolution tends to create more and more comprehensive wholes. Smuts writes in his preface: "An attempt is made to show that this whole-making or holistic tendency is fundamental in nature, that it has a well-marked ascertainable character, and that evolution is nothing but the gradual development and stratification of progressive series of wholes, stretching from the inorganic beginnings to the highest levels of spiritual creation." But does Śaṅkara's philosophy say anything about this tendency? Is it a philosophy of evolution at all? It is true that Hegel's all-comprehensive Absolute Idea is shown as being evolved out of the poorest category Being. Somewhat similar processes may be shown in the philosophies of Schelling and some others. But nothing similar can be shown in Śaṅkara's system. We do not advance one step in understanding it by comparing it to Holism.

A third example is the discovery of Hormism or Hormic psychology in the *Bhagavadgītā*, the Upaniṣads and so forth. Professor McDougall is the founder of the school of Hormic Psychology, and it arose

as a protest against understanding mind as a static structure. It maintains that mind is dynamic and that the distinctive mark of the mental is purposiveness. McDougall writes: "This book teaches, then, a frankly and thoroughly *purposive psychology*. Such psychology is distinctive only so far as other schools neglect, ignore, or deny this most fundamental peculiarity of all our activities, their purposiveness. As soon as (and the date cannot be so far distant) all psychologists recognise this peculiarity, *purposive psychology* must lose its distinctiveness and becomes merely *psychology* . . ."¹⁸ As a matter of fact Indian psychology or philosophy says nothing at all about the methods of interpreting mind. There is really no need to introduce a concept like the *Horme*, and its introduction cannot but lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Even when we have to deal with instincts—and McDougall's psychology is famous for its treatment of instincts—we may simply call them as such without bringing in the idea of the *Horme*. The difference between structuralism, mechanism, epiphenomenism, etc., has not been made by Indian psychology. When once we call a particular doctrine *Hormic Psychology*, we have then to waste much of our energy to find out in vain the corresponding details, and then misunderstand and mislead. Indeed Indian philosophy has no separate psychology even. There are certain psychological discussions interspersed with metaphysics, logic, ethics, rhetoric, etc. Even as a philosophical system *Hormism* cannot be found in Indian Philosophy. For universal *hormism* would mean that our universe exhibits purposiveness. But to attribute such a doctrine to Indian Philosophy would amount to nothing less than deliberate misunderstanding. All Indian systems, whether monistic or dualistic, preach the realisation of the *Brahman* as

¹⁸ *The Energies of Men*, p. 23.

the highest in life. But that can hardly be called Hormism.

A fourth example is the contention that the *Gītā* preaches axiology or axiological idealism. Axiology is the theory of value. But it would be too much to say that the *Gītā* has a theory of value on the ground that Lord Kṛṣṇa, when asked by Arjuna how he is to think of him, says that he is the best of every thing.¹⁹ Practically all schools of Indian Philosophy present some ideal of life, which they identify with the Brahman. But that is not a theory of value except in a very remote sense, in which case every religion must be called axiology as it exhorts us to strive after some ideal. Unless it is a systematically developed theory of value it is a misnomer to call it axiology. Some Indian systems may be called axiological idealism, when they identify reality and value. According to axiological idealism, reality is beyond sense and is the same as value. Urban, the greatest metaphysician of value who ever wrote in English, says: "The ultimate inseparability of value and reality is now almost axiomatic; to attempt to divorce them can issue only in unintelligibility."²⁰ As a matter of fact not even Śaṅkara says that what he calls Reality is value. But we can see through his writings and point out that he does mean their identity. And the position of the *Bhagavadgītā* may be called axiological idealism, only if it supports Śaṅkara's Advaita, but not merely on the ground of Kṛṣṇa's utterances.

It may perhaps be questioned whether it would be possible at all to interpret our theories if we are not to give them any names. Certainly, we have to call them by some names, not necessarily the names of theories

¹⁹ *Gītā*, X, 19 foll.

²⁰ Urban: *The Intelligible World*, Preface.

which are the latest developments in the west. Progress in Indian philosophical research does not consist in the progressive branding of the same old theories with the names of the western doctrines which are being formulated from day to day. Our philosophy is ancient and mainly concerned with ontology. Modern scientific theories and outlook could not have influenced it. The philosophical reaction which we find in the west to such theories and outlook, and which took the form of the philosophies of evolution, axiology, phenomenology, etc., etc., cannot naturally be found in it. We cannot be too cautious in our selection of terminology for interpreting our philosophy.

There is a method of interpretation, which, though more serious, necessarily leads to wrong evaluations. It is based upon the philological study of terms and a genetic study of concepts. Undoubtedly such studies are useful in understanding the growth of connotations. Yet to insist that the origin of the concept invariably determines the significance of the system is one of the greatest philosophical blunders. If, for instance, *ātman* originally meant breath as in the German root *atmen*, should we therefore compare Indian Philosophy, for which *ātman* is the highest spiritual principle, to the philosophy of Anaximenes, according to which air is the principle of the universe, and call it hylozoism or materialism? Again, as the word *jīva* comes from the root *jī* (to live), should we say that Indian thought has not reached beyond the biological conception of soul? These interpretations are fantastic, though scholarly; and to them the answer is that words as signs are mobile and transfer themselves not only from one physical object to another, but also from a physical to a mental. Betty Heimann's *Indian and Western Philosophy*, which has already been referred to, is full of such interpretations. She writes: "I studied

the classics. . . . from the linguistic standpoint, and this procedure ultimately developed into a philosophical method ultimately associated with the psychological aspect of philology.”²¹ This is her standpoint. And her conclusion is that Indian Philosophy is transcendental materialism.²² “For while genuine materialism conceives the world as one unrepeated formation India, on the other hand, rises above single empirical observations and postulates the transformation of one empirical form into another, and finally of all these into a static shapelessness which is beyond all empirical experience; and this, once again, precludes the identification of India’s Ontology with Realism.”²³ It is very difficult to discuss her arguments in a short compass but a few may be mentioned and quoted. “This doctrine of Maya, however, even in its negative formulation by Buddhistic-Vedantic sects, is not akin to any Western idealistic system. For in the first place no superiority of any spiritual discriminative principle is recognised; on the contrary, it is the supremacy of the materialistic, the chaotic principle that is implied; it is eternal Matter that is asserted, and into this each single form in the end is reabsorbed.”²⁴ Is this the reason for identifying Indian thought with transcendental materialism? Does any system of Indian philosophy treat Māyā as the highest principle? Even admitting the Sāṅkhya, for argument’s sake, as the fundamental system as Heimann would have it,²⁵ does it not have a discriminative principle besides matter? Further, “in Indian doctrine no merely spiritual principle

²¹ *Indian and Western Philosophy*, p. 13.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

can ever be supreme. From the very beginning, on the contrary, the second eternal principle of Matter is on an equal footing with Spirit or Mind." "In India, it must be observed, the first and last principle is not regarded as being fundamentally different from perennial Matter; it is neither primeval consciousness, nor is it a purely spiritual principle; rather it is Matter itself in its chaotic stage or indefinite fulness or immeasurable emptiness, together with the original urge towards self-manifestation."²⁶ If these statements are true, then Indian thought is transcendental materialism; it has not been able to rise from the material to the spiritual level. It understands spirit, probably, as rarefied matter, obeying all material laws. Is not the law of *karma* an inexorable material law attributed to spirit? Is not thereby spirit conceived in the likeness of matter? "This Atman (the vital essence in man) is the same in the ant; the same in the gnat, the same in the elephant, the same in the three worlds, . . . the same in the whole universe." So Indian thought could not rise above a biological conception! "*Nāma-rūpa* therefore means that objects can be comprehended by means of the name, the logical magical aspect, or the *rūpa*, the visible shape, the first principle being based on the presupposition *namen et omen*, that is to say, words are *satya*, Reality, and *akṣara*, constant, inviolable entities; for India's magical positivism assumes that an object name is the key to its very essence, while the second possible approach to things is through *rūpa*, visible form." Do all the Indian systems believe that name is the essence of things? Child and Folk Psychologies tell us that for both children and primitive people names are the things or at least adjectives or properties of things. But as mind develops

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-7.

both in the race and in the child the word and the object get detached from each other, though the tendency remains for the word to come up whenever the object is thought of. But is the doctrine of the *akṣara brahman* or the *śabdabrahman* (the Brahman as sound) based upon an ill-development of Indian mind and the consequent inability to distinguish between the word and the object? Buddhism calls objects *nāma-rūpa*, but is it because of its primitive and crude logic? Should we not say that Dr. Heimann's conclusions themselves are really due to her identifying name and thing? What else can a philological approach to philosophy mean?

The truth is there that in the mental development of the race and the individual the word is identified with the thing at first. That is why some of the earliest philosophical attempts both in the East and the West are characterised by intense philological activity. Even Greek philosophy before Plato is not exempted from it. It was thought that the nature of things could be determined by the etymological study of their names. Plato had to discuss this question in his *Cratylus*. Zeller writes: "It was of the greatest consequence to the Ideal philosophy to ascertain what worth attached to words, and how far a true imitation of things might be recognised in them. His (Plato's) ultimate conclusion, however, is only this, that Philosophy must go her own way independently of Philology."²⁷ Are not the interpreters of Indian Philosophy to take advice from Plato? Systematic study, systematic comparison, not only of one concept with, and to another but also of one system as such with, and to another system as such, must supersede philological interpretation.

²⁷ *Plato and the Older Academy*, p. 212.

VII

The true aim of research, in Indian Philosophy, even of the ancient, is not realised only by translating and editing the texts. The aim should at least be the creation of the appreciation of our outlook, and that cannot be achieved only by translation. Nay, the aim should be wider and higher, the laying bare of the logical structure of our thought and making possible further developments, so that we can contribute to the progress of world's philosophy. Editing and translation is not a very important part of research so far as Indian Philosophy as philosophy is concerned. It need not be undertaken by professor of the Philosophy Departments of our universities. It is as much a work of the Sanskritists, and so can be safely entrusted to members of the Sanskrit Departments. Even the work of translation can, to a large extent, be done by them. Where the work is fairly technical, collaboration between the Sanskrit and the Philosophy Departments would produce better results. Or it should be taken up by one who is qualified in both. Simple expositions can be given by the Sanskritists themselves now and then taking the help of a man of philosophy. But where systematic interpretation and comparison are involved, one who is only a Sanskritist can do little. Real philosophical work begins here. It is said that Sir Ganganatha Jha used to declare that a professor of philosophy in any Indian university could do nothing unless he knew Indian Philosophy. And the work has so far progressed now that none can do important work in Indian Philosophy unless one has a strong grounding in European Philosophy. The progress of Indian Philosophy depends in future on the number of important works that come from the hands of such workers and the use that is made of them in further developments. Otherwise, Indian

Philosophy will continue to be treated as an antiquarian subject and will be studied as Buddhist remains are studied. India's philosophers will no longer make any contribution to the future progress of world's philosophy.²⁸

²⁸ With this idea in mind, which I discussed at length, I contributed the Chapter on "Indian Philosophy: A Survey" to the *Progress of Indic Studies*, and gave a bibliography. A reviewer mentioned that the bibliography contains a glaring omission of the *Mīmāṃsā* Texts published in Madras University Series, the Gaekwad Oriental Series, the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series etc. The reviewer seems to have looked only into the section on *Mīmāṃsā*. Had he looked into the other sections also, he could have noticed that texts and translations were mostly excluded in the bibliography, except in the case of Buddhism, where after naming some Buddhist series, I tried to include as many of those which were not published in those series as seemed useful and important. I made the exception because many of the Buddhist works, particularly of the Mahayana, are not found in any of the Indian languages, dead or living. And even here we have very few original texts, but mostly translations. Now, to include all the texts of all the systems, sects and religions would require many more pages than the maximum twenty-four allotted to the chapter. Even if a little more space had been allowed, it would have been more profitably used in discussing the methods adopted of research than giving a list of the published texts which can be easily obtained from a catalogue of any oriental book company, and if still more space were given, for a philosophical evaluation of the works published on Indian Philosophy. The order of importance from the standpoint of philosophy would be: systematic presentations, evaluations and comparisons, then historical presentations, simple expositions, translations and then texts. The attitude of the reviewer may well be appreciated, as he is a pure Sanskritist. But so long as that attitude predominates and influences our research, we would be doing harm to our own philosophy, which will not cease to be of mere antiquarian interest. A new attitude is badly now in need, as philosophical activity in our country has become stagnant. The new attitude should view Indian Philosophy as the philosophy of the Indians, both ancient and modern. The aim of Indian philosophical research ought to be higher than the publication of texts and translations, which naturally characterise only the early stages of the work. Unfortunately what I pleaded for in the work mentioned seemed to have made no impression on the reviewer. I make this reference only as an example of the general attitude that still prevails to Indian philosophy.

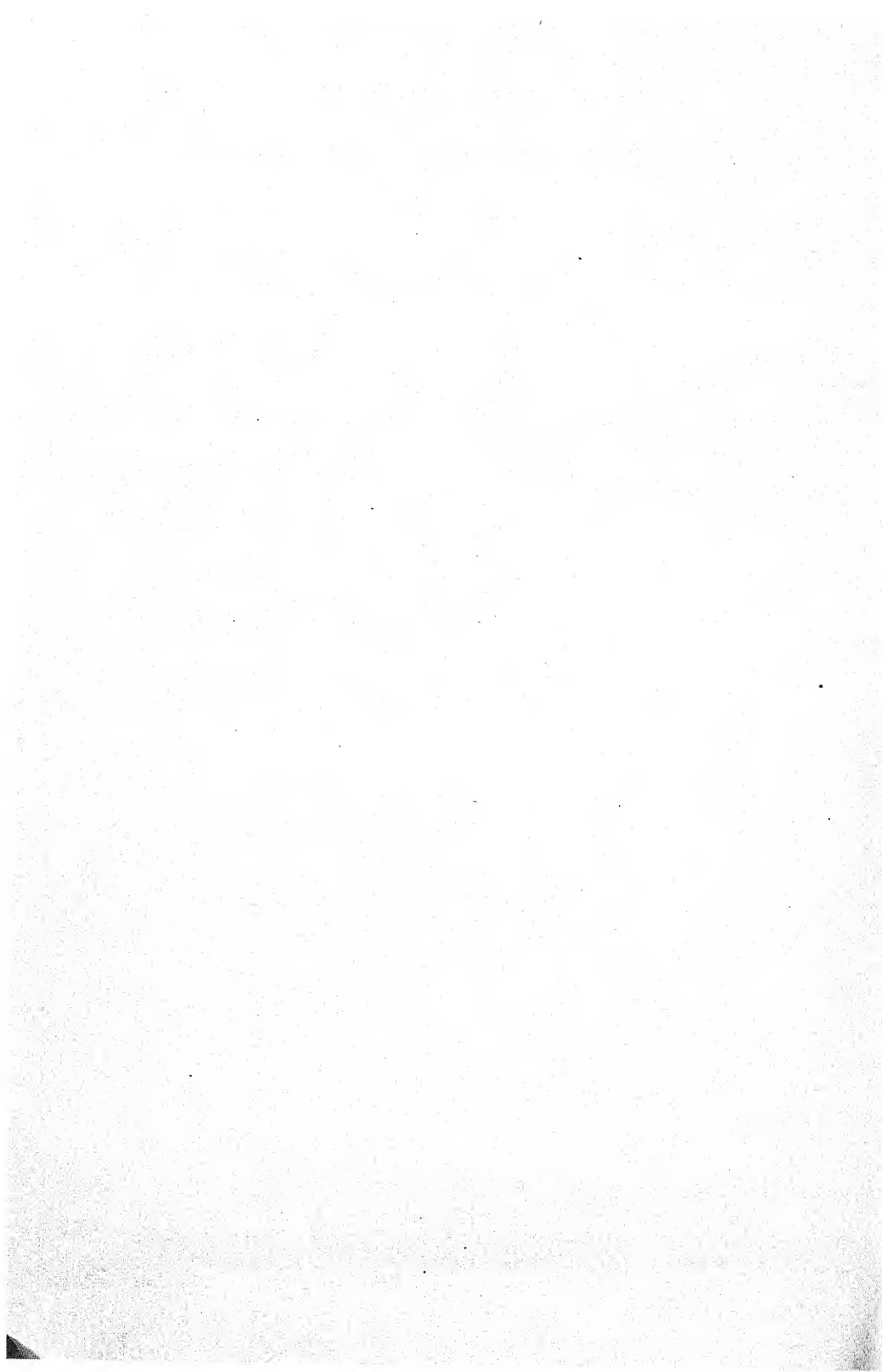
VIII

Classifying Indian Philosophy according to religion, that is, according to whether it is Hindu, Buddhist or Jaina, we find that till now much work has been done in Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, but not in the Jaina. It is not meant that many Jaina original works have not been published. The Jaina community in India is the richest, and many texts have been printed and published. But we do not find so much philosophical interpretation of Jainism as of Hinduism and Buddhism.

The original texts of Indian Philosophy are not divided into metaphysics, ethics, logic, psychology, etc., as the works of European Philosophy are. We indeed find a few on logic and epistemology, but the other branches are intermixed. Modern philosophical research is trying to separate them. Many books have been written on metaphysics and religion. We have till now only two important works on logic, namely, Vidyabhushan's and Stcherbatsky's. There are some translations of *Tarkasangraha* with introductions and notes containing comparative expositions of the Nyaya syllogism. But a comparative philosophical evaluation of Indian logic or Indian logical systems has not yet been attempted. Still less work has been done in psychology. Besides, J. N. Sinha's *Indian Psychology—Perception*, which contains much logical and epistemological material, we have Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Psychology* and Pathak's *Heyapaksha of Yoga or a Constructive Synthesis of Psychological Material in Indian Philosophy*. There are a few publications on yogic psychology by western writers. But we have even now to say that we do not know what Indian psychology of the ancient systems would be when all the material is put systematically together. Sir Radhakrishnan in his Foreword to the last work says: "Perhaps

a work which will integrate all material collected here into a systematic whole is yet to be written," and his observation holds true even now. The same or even worse is the situation in ethics. We have no ethical philosophies or systems, and no systematic exposition of our ethical outlook is yet attempted. Of the Western writers Hopkins is the most sympathetic. We have M.M. Kane's *magnum opus*, *History of the Dharmaśāstra*. In social and political philosophy some work has been done, particularly by Dr. Bhagavan Das and some few independent constructions are given by Dr. Vinayakumar Sircar. Many ethical and psychological expositions of the growth of caste have appeared. In aesthetics, education and other branches a little work has been done; but it is not philosophically of much importance.²⁹

²⁹ In this paper I am not giving the names of the many great scholars and their works as I gave them elsewhere. See *Progress of Indic Studies*. To make the article complete, I am making some general remarks on the amount of work done in different branches of philosophy.



GLEANINGS FROM SOMADEVASŪRI'S YAŚASTILAKA CAMPU

By V. RAGHAVAN

(Continued from p. 380)

Part II.

Pp. 24-5: A lady door-keeper of the queen is described here as proficient in the knowledge of the language, appearance, dress, etc., of people of various countries.

P. 37 :¹² A reference to a mechanical fan-arrangement near the bed of Amṛtamahādevī, consisting of an image of a woman which was mechanically waving a fan—उपान्तयन्त्रपुत्रिकोत्क्षिप्यमाणव्यजनपवनापनीयमानसुरतश्रमः ।

P. 54: With reference to the queen's misbehaviour with the servant in the elephant-stables, the king remarks bitterly about the depravity of women. Somadeva quotes here two bits :

स्त्रियः खलेषु रज्यन्ते दासहस्तिपकादिषु and अपात्रे रमते नारी ।

Of these the first quoted half-verse is found in Vātsyāyana as referring to Veśyās :

वेश्याः खलेषु रज्यन्ते दासहस्तिपकादिषु । II. 9.36.

P. 85: A minister named Vasuvarṣa and a minstrel named Subhāṣitavarṣa are introduced. It may be noted that the Varṣa-ending again is a Rāṣṭrakūṭa-characteristic. See my article on Somadeva in the *NIA*.

¹² P. 36: On this page appears a description *suggestive* of acts of sexual enjoyment; in this connection Śrīdeva says, and Śrutasāgara follows him, that Dhvani is an Alaṅkāra :

नखप्रदानालिङ्गनसंवेशनकथितकुचपरामर्शनताडनसुरतावसानानि निवेदितानि ध्वनेरलङ्कारस्याश्रय णात् । “अन्यार्थवाचकैः यत्र पदैरन्यार्थ उच्यते । सोऽलंकारो ध्वनिः शेषौ वक्तुराशयसूचनात् ॥” Śrīdeva, p. 18a.

P. 88. Some proverbs :

- i. स्वप्नेषु भक्तमुपलभ्य गोणिः (शिं) प्रसारयति ।
- ii त्रियामायां मोदकमन्दमठिकावलोकनादामन्त्रितमहीपतेरुपाख्यानम्
which alludes to a popular illustrative story. Earlier, in
Pt. 1, p. 428 we have four proverbs :
- iii. कगले भुञ्जानस्य हि नरस्य क इव केशदर्शनाद् आशप्रत्यादेशः ।
- iv. पुरे प्रमोषदत्तस्य हि पुरुषस्य केव कान्तारेऽपेक्षा ।
- v निरम्बरनितम्बायामात्माम्बायां दाहोद्योगस्य हि जनस्य क इव परम्बायामम्बर-
परित्यागः ।
- vi. स्थितासुं प्रसमानस्य गतासौ कीदृशी दया । परबाले कृपा कैव स्वबालेन
बलिक्रिये ।

P. 92 : 'न धर्माश्चरेत्, एष्यतफलत्वात् संशयितत्वाच्च । को ह्यबालिशो हस्तगतं
पादगतं कुर्यात् । वरमद्य कपोतः श्रो मयूरात् । वरं सांशयिकान्निष्काद् असांशयिकः
कार्षापणः ।'

इति महान् खलु लोके लौकायतिकलोककोलाहलः ।

These seem to form part of the Sūtras of the Lokāyata system. For the same set of Sūtras, see Vātsyāyana's *Kāma sūtras* I. ii. 25-30.

P. 95 : Reference to the prevalence of some sinful practices in some countries as a result of the king's own example.

वङ्गीमण्डले नृपतिदोषाद् भूदेवेषु आसवोपयोगः ।
पारसीकेषु स्वसवित्रीसंयोगः,
सिंहलेषु च विश्वामित्रसृष्टिप्रयोग इति ।

Vaṅgīmaṇḍala is interpreted as Ratnapura by Śrutadeva; the same commentator calls Pārasika, Rās-vānadeśa; both he and Śrīdeva interpret Viśvāmitrasṛṣṭi as Varnasaṅkara.

Kumārila also refers in his *Tantravārttika* to Brahman woman of Mathurā and Ahicchatra as addicted to drinking : अद्यत्वेऽप्यहिच्छत्रमथुरानिवासिब्राह्मणीनां सुरापानम् । p. 128
edn. Chow. 1903.

P. 98. Just as Varnaśaṅkara is called Viśvāmitra-sṛṣṭiprayoga, hunting is called Pāpardhi and meat, Rāvaṇaśāka.

P. 99. प्राणाघातान्निवृत्तिः a verse found in the *Nitiśataka* (sl. 54) of Bhartṛhari is quoted and ascribed to Vararuci.

On the same page a verse from a Purāṇa and one from Vyāsa (*Mahābhārata*) are quoted.

P. 100. A quotation from Vaivasvata Manu.

2. Verses are quoted from the *Arthaśāstra* of Bharadvāja, the section on Śāḍgunyas. These verses are valuable as hitherto no actual quotations have been found from Bharadvāja, though references to his views are made by Kauṭalya.

अवक्षेपेन हि सतामसतां प्रग्रहेण च ।

तथा सत्त्वेष्वभिद्रोहादधर्मस्य च कारणात् ॥

विमाननाच्च मान्यानां विश्वस्तानां न घातनात् ।

प्रजानां जायते लोपो नृपतेश्चायुषः क्षयः ॥

कथमिदमभाषत षाड्गुण्यप्रस्तावै भारद्वाजः ।

In Kauṭalya VII. 5, the verses which give the conditions which create discontent among people seem to be based on the above verses of Bhāradvāja. The first line in Kauṭalya is identical with the first line quoted by Somadeva from Bhāradvāja, अवक्षेपेण etc; the other lines in Kauṭalya here have also parallels in the quotation made by Somadeva. Cf. उपघातैः प्रधानानां मान्यानां चावमाननैः ।

P. 100. Then is given a quotation from Viśālākṣa's *Arthaśāstra*, from the last section called Aupaniṣadika, stating that kings should announce the prohibition of animal slaughter on particular days :

चातुर्मास्येष्वर्धमासिकं, दर्शपूर्णमासयोश्चात्रात्रिकं, राजनक्षत्रे गुरुपर्वणि च त्रैरात्रिकं, एवमन्यासु चोपहतासु तिथिषु द्विरात्रमेकरात्रं वा सर्वेषामघातं घोषयेदायुर्बलवृद्धयर्थमिति कथमुपनिषदि वदति स्म विशालान्नः ।

This view is not cited in the Aupaniṣadika section by Kauṭalya. Śrutasaṅgāra who says here उपनिषदि वेदान्तशास्त्रे विशालान्नः प्रभाकरऋषिः bungles hopelessly.

P. 101. Bāṇa is quoted; the passage refers to the unmeritorious food which hunters are accustomed to, and it occurs in the *Kādambarī* in the description of the hunters. *Kāvya-mālā* edn. p. 63.

Pp. 101-3. प्रश्नोत्तरपरम्पराप्रवृत्तमुदन्तकाशीत् and then follows a series of 7 Āryā verses, closely modelled on the *Praśnottararatnamālīkā* ascribed to king Amoghavarṣa, A.D. 814-880, a Śvetāmbara Vimala and others.

Pp. 104-5. A sample of anti-jain declamation.

Pp. 110-1. Śruti and Smṛti are quoted.

Pp. 111-2. Jyotiṣaṅga is quoted; Sāṅkhya,¹³ Yoga and Lokāyata as Ānvikṣikī are referred to. According to the reference here, Bṛhaspati's work on Philosophy (Ānvikṣikī) contains a reference to the text of Syādvāda of the Nagnaśramaṇaka.

सांख्यं योगो लोकायतं च आन्वीक्षिकी । तस्यां च 'स्यादस्ति स्यान्नास्तीति नग्नश्रमणकः' इति बृहस्पतिः आखण्डलस्य पुरः तं समयं कथं प्रत्यवतस्थे ।

Yoga here is Nyāya.

P. 112. In these and other citations, Somadeva is canvassing references to Jainism in Brahminical books. The further citations are from :

1. Prajāpati's *Citrakarman* : प्रजापतिप्रोक्त चित्रकर्मणि । The reference is to the painting of a Śramaṇa. This text may be the *Bhrāhmīya Citrakarma Śilpaśāstra* of which the Tanjore Ms. No. 15430 represents a fragment.

2. Ādityamata. This again is a Śilpa work, and the reference is to the making of God's images, according to the Jain conception. This text may be the *Bhānumata* in the Tanjore Library No. 15431, and the Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, R. No. 5281.

3. A verse from the Pratiṣṭhākāṇḍa of Varāhamihira.

वराहमिहिरव्याहृते प्रतिष्ठाकाण्डे,—'चिष्णोर्भागवताः etc.,

¹³ Śrutasaṅgāra's gloss सांख्यं उल्लूक्यदर्शनम्, सत्कार्यापरनामधेयम् is a mistake.

P. 113. 4. Nimittādhyāya (on Omens).

5. Poets : *Urva*, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bhartṛhari, Bhartṛmenṭha, *Kaṇṭha*; Guṇādhyā, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, *Vosa*, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Mayūra, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Kumāra*, Māgha and Rājaśekhara.

The italicised are rare names.

6. The Kāvya chapter of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

Pp. 117-8 ff: References to objectionable Vidhis in Brahminical practices.

P. 135: While the king is against doing an animal sacrifice as a propitiation against the evil dream he had, his mother advises him to do a sacrifice at least with flour-made substitute foul,—Piṣṭakukkuṭa. In that connection, Somadeva's words, as interpreted by Śruta-sāgara also, seem to imply the existence of texts upholding the equal or greater efficacy of Piṣṭapaśuyāga.

Text : परिश्रावितसकलसत्त्वोपहारफलोत्कटेन पिष्टकुक्कुटेन

Com : परिश्रावितं विविधग्रन्थप्रमाणपूर्वकम्

In the Mokṣadharma, Śāntiparvan, chs. 344-5, *Kumbhakonam edn.*, there is the story of Uparicara Vasu doing a sacrifice with Piṣṭapaśu, and seeing God Himself coming and taking such an offering; in ch. 345, the Ṛṣis, as against the Devas, are said to uphold the Piṣṭapaśu-view, as also the view that the Vedas contemplate grains and herbs as materials of offering.

P. 139: Reference to a legend of Vararuci carrying a pot of liquor on his head.

In this same context, Somadeva refers to the sin of adultery and the story of (king) Dāṇḍakya. The reference to this is found in Kauṭalya I. 5. 3, where the Bhoja king Dāṇḍakya, as a result of his desire for a Brāhman maiden, perished along with his whole family and kingdom. *

Pp. 152-3: Instances of dangers to kings from women: stories of Maṇikuṇḍalā and Ajarāja among the

Yavanas, Vasantamati and Suratavilāsa in the Śūra-senas, Vṛkodarī and Madārṇava of the Daśārṇas, Madirākṣī and Manmathavinoda of the Magadhas and Caṇḍarasā and Muṇḍira of the Pāṇdyas.

The whole passage occurs also in Somadeva's *Nīti-vākyāmrta*.

P. 170 : समीक्षसिद्धान्त इव कपिलकुलकान्तः —a reference to the Sāmkhya. (Śrīdeva : समीक्षा सांख्यशास्त्रम्)

P. 194 : A reference to the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālī-dāsa starting with Māgadhi (Sudakṣiṇā).

P. 195 : Refers to Metrics, to Veda and Gāyatrī.

P. 196 : अकविलोकगणनमपि सकलिदासम् According to Śrīdeva, the word Kālīdāsa means a Bhūta also. (कालिदासो भूतः p. 24a). According to Śrutasāgara's explanation of the Śleṣa here, Kālīdāsa means Mango. On p. 309, the text refers to a Kālīdāsa Kānana, a Kālīdāsa-forest, where Śrīdeva interprets Kālīdāsa as Bhūtas. (कालिदासा भूतपर्यायाः

P. 196 : Syādvāda and Vardhamāna.

P. 206 : *Mahābhārata*.

P. 214 : There is the expression सीकरासारतारकितहरिति सरिति which seems to echo Kulaśekhara's *Mukundamālā*—क्षीरसागरतरंगशीकरासारतारकितचारुमूर्तये ।

P. 246 : The science of polity is described as 'नवभूमिका' 'नयनीतिरिव नवभूमिका'. Śrīdeva says here that three kinds of Naigama and six kinds of Vyavahāra make this number nine.

P. 246 : Reference to Bṛhaspati's Lokāyata which does not believe in Paraloka; Mīmāṃsā and Niyoga and Bhāvanā; the 3 Buddhistic Piṭakas and Yogācāra; Śrīdeva says here (p. 25b) :

योगाचारः ज्ञानाद्वैतवादी । योगः आत्मागतपदार्थयथात्मज्ञानाद् विद्धः सपरिस्पन्दः
आत्मप्रदेशः । उपात्तागामिकर्मक्षयप्रतिबन्धहेतुराचारश्च ।'

P. 246 : Kucumāravidyā (Kucabhāra* in the text is wrong). Śrīdeva says (p. 25b) कुचुमारः कुहकविद्योपाध्यायः and again elsewhere— कुचुमारः धूर्तशास्त्रप्रणेता ।

Kucumāravidyā is really the Aupaniṣadika part of the erotic lore which Kucumāra expounded. See Vātsyāyana I. i. 17.

P. 246 : References to Citrabandhas in Mahākāvyaś; Bharata, Laya and Nāṭya.

P. 247 : पाण्ड्यमुद्रैव शकुलियुगलाकिता is a reference to Pāṇḍya coin having the emblem of two fishes.

Reference to a Pūrṇakumbha being a good omen.

The gain Samavasaraṇa.

Copyists and their habit of storing ink are referred to.

P. 249 : The festival of Manmatha-worship and cock-fighting are introduced. A specialist in omens named Āsuri, a Bhāgavata, a Khanyavādin named Haraprabodha and a mendicant named Kharapaṭaṣadhabudha.

Khanyavāda is the divination of underground treasures. Kharapaṭa, according to the *Mattavilāsa-prahasana* of Mahendravikrama, is the promulgator of the Coraśāstra, art of theft. Śrīdeva says (p. 25b) खरपटं वक्रशास्त्रम्—the art of deceiving.

P. 250 : Āsuri mentioned above is the name of a Sāṃkhya-ācārya. Through his mouth a brief exposition of Sāṃkhya is given here. The text एवमाह सूरिः refers to this Āsuri. The words here दुःखत्रयोपतप्तचेताः तद्विषातकहेतुजिज्ञासा etc., are echoes of the first Kārikā of Išvara-Kṛṣṇa; the quotation with which the passage ends : तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्' is from *Pātāñjala Yoga Sūtras*.

The Brāhman Dhūmadhvaja parodies this Sāṃkhya view.

P. 251 : Haraprabodha who was introduced as a Khanyavādin, is, as his name also suggests, a follower of Śaivism. He now expounds Śaiva thought, the two paths, Dakṣiṇa for Bhukti and Vāma for Mukti and Bhukti. He reinforces his praise of the Vāmamārga by quoting a verse पेया सुरा प्रियतमामुखमीक्षणीयम् etc., which he ascribes

to Bhāsa. The verse is found in Mahendravikrama Pallava's *Mattavilāsaprahasana*.

Pp. 251-2: This the Buddhist Sugatakīrti ridicules and expounds the Nirvāṇa of his own school.

Pp. 252-3: This is followed by the views of Nīla-ṭaṭa, i.e., Cārvāka. The explanation of Caitanya appearing in the body on the analogy of the intoxicating power in some drinks and the absence of rebirth and Paraloka are mentioned.

P. 254: The Maṅgalaśloka of the *Śloka-vārttika* of Kumārila is quoted with Kumārila's name.

Then follows the quotation:

कथं चेदं वचनमजर्यम्—

समस्तेषु वस्तुष्वनुस्यूतमेकं समस्तानि वस्तूनि यं न स्पृशन्ति ।

वियद्वत्सदा शुद्धिमत् यत्स्वरूपं स सिद्धोपलब्धिः स नित्योऽहमात्मा ॥

This is verse 11 of the *Hastāmalakīya*, of, one of the four pupils of Śaṅkara, Hastāmalaka, and on which a gloss is ascribed to Śaṅkara himself. A quotation from the *Hastāmalakīya* in a work of A.D. 959 is important.

Pp. 254-5: Śaiva tenets again.

The verse ऐश्वर्यमप्रतिहतं सहजो विरागः etc., is quoted here anonymously, and on p. 272, it is cited as a verse of Avadhūta.—इत्यवधूताभिधानं च घटेत ।

There is a Kashmirian Śaiva writer named Avadhūtasiddha who has written a hymn on Śiva named *Bhagavadbhakti-stotra*. See Bühler's Report of a Tour in search of Skt. MSS. in Kashmir, etc., 1877. Extracts. p. clxii. No. 474. If he is the same as the Avadhūta who has commented on some works like the *Prabodhapañcadaśikā* of Abhinavagupta, he cannot be the Avadhūta quoted by Somadeva.

P. 285: The verse रथः क्षोणी यन्ता शतघृतिः etc., is quoted and the author is given as *Grahila*. इति च ग्रहिलभाषितम् । This is verse 18 of the *Śivamahimnasstava* of Puṣpadanta.

P. 256: A philosophical work named *Ratnaparīkṣā* is quoted.

P. 256 : Two Subhāṣitas on Karma are quoted, of which the second नमस्यामो देवान् ननु हतविघ्नेऽपि वशगाः etc., is verse 94 of Bhartṛhari's *Nītiśataka*, the first in the Karmapaddhati. It is also found as the opening verse of Śilhaṇa's *Śāntiśataka*, p. 278, z. Vidyasagar's *Kāvyasaṁgraha*, II.

P. 256-7 : After a criticism of Śaivism, Buddhism is introduced.

The whole of the above noticed section contains many quotations from philosophical works of different schools.

P. 261 : A series of verses in defence of Jain practices, ending with a line adopted from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, I : प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेयः पृथ्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः ।

- P. 267 : Ch. 6. called Upāsakādhyaṇa.

P. 269. A summary of the schools—

1. Saiddhāntika Vaiśeṣikas (Śaivites.)

सकलनिष्कलाप्तप्राप्तमन्त्रतन्त्रापेक्षदीक्षाक्षणाद् श्रद्धामात्रानुसरणान्मोक्षः इति सैद्धान्तिकवैशेषिकाः ।

2. Tārkikavaiśeṣikas, the regular Vaiśeṣikas.

द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यसमवायान्त्यविशेषाभावाभिधानानां पदार्थानां साधर्म्य-
वैधर्म्यावबोधतन्त्राद् ज्ञानमात्रात् इति तार्किकवैशेषिकाः ।

Viśeṣa is more specifically stated as Antyaviśeṣa; Abhāva is included as a Padārtha.

3. Pāśupatas. त्रिकालभस्मोद्धूलनेज्यागडुकप्रदानप्रदक्षिणीकरणात्म-
विडम्बनादिक्रियाकाण्डमात्राधिष्ठानादनुष्ठानाद् (?) इति पाशुपताः । See the *Pāśupata sūtras*, TSS. 143. I, 2 : भस्मना त्रिषवणं शयीत I-8
हसितगीतनृत्तडुङ्ङुङ्कारनमस्कारजप्योपहारेणोपतिष्ठेत् । Gāḍukapradāna in
Somadeva is perhaps the Duṇḍakāra or offering of a
sound of that form : डुङ्ङुङ्कारो नाम य एष जिह्वाग्रतालुसंयोगान् निष्पद्यते
पुरयो वृषनादसदृशः सः Kaundinya's *Bhāṣya*, *ibid*. The Ātma-
vidāmbana referred to by Somadeva is probably the giving
themselves away of the Pāśupatas, behaving as they pleased
or engaging themselves in such activities as are referred

to in the *Pāsupata sūtras* III. 11—19 : प्रेतचरेत्, कायेत वा, स्पन्देत वा, मण्डेत वा, शृङ्गारेत वा, अपि तत् कुर्यात्, अपि तद् भाषेत etc.

P. 269 : Kulācāryas, followers of the Kasmirian Trika school : सर्वेषु पेयापेयभक्ष्याभक्ष्यादिषु निःशंकचित्ताद् वृत्तात् इति कुलाचार्यकाः । तथा च त्रिकमतोक्तिः—मदिरामोदमेदुर × × × स्वयमुमामहेश्वरायमाणः कृष्ण्या सर्वाणीश्वरमाराधयेदिति ।

Sāṃkhyas : प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेकमतेः ख्यातेः इति सांख्याः ।

„ Buddhists : Nairātmyabhāvana as the means of salvation.

„ Mīmāṃsikas : अङ्गाराञ्जनादिवत् स्वभावादेव कालुष्योत्कर्ष-प्रवृत्तस्य चित्तस्य न कुतश्चिद् विशुद्धचित्तवृत्तिः इति जैमिनीयाः

„ Cārvākas or Bārhaspatyas who do not accept a substratum like Ātman, or a Paraloka.

सति धर्मिणि धर्माश्चिन्त्यन्ते, ततः परलोकिनो भावान्, परलोकाभावे कस्यासौ मोक्षः, इति समवातसमस्तनास्तिका धिपत्या बार्हस्पत्याः ।

„ Vedāntins : परब्रह्मदर्शनवशादशेषमेदसवेदनाविद्याविनाशाद् इति वेदान्तवादिनः ।

„ Another school of Buddhists, Śākyaviśeṣas, the Śūnyavādins :

नैवान्तस्तत्त्वमस्तीह न बहिस्तत्त्वमञ्जसा ।

विचारगोचरातीतेः शून्यता श्रेयसी ततः ॥

इति पश्यतोहराः प्रकाशितशून्यतैकान्ततिमिराः शाक्यविशेषाः ।

„ Kāṇādas, but these should be the followers of Akṣapāda. ज्ञानमुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नधर्माधर्मसंस्काराणां नवसंख्यावसराणामात्मगुणानामत्यन्तोन्मुक्तिः : मुक्तिः इति काणादाः । तदुक्तम्—

बहिः शरीराद्यद्रूपमात्मनः संप्रतीयते ।

उक्तं तदेव मुक्तस्य मुनिना कणभोजिना ॥

„ Buddhists again holding Nirvāṇa of Citta and Jīva. निराश्रयचित्तोत्पत्तिलक्षणो मोक्ष इति मोक्षावसरा-स्ताथागताः ।

¹⁴ These two verses occur, with a slight change of the order of the halves and the quarters, in Aśvaghosa's *Saundarānanda*, XVI. 28-9. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri drew my attention to this.

तदुक्तम्—

दिशं न काञ्चिद्विदिशं न काञ्चिद् नैवावर्णि गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।

दीपो यथा निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतः स्नेहक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥

दिशं न काञ्चिद्विदिशं न काञ्चिन्नैवावर्णि गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।

जीवस्तथा निर्वृतिमभ्युपेतः क्लेशक्षयात्केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥

P. 270: Kāpilas; more definitely Pātañjalias.

बुद्धिमनोऽहंकारविरहादखिलेन्द्रियोपशमावहात् तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानं मुक्तिः इति कापिलाः ।

„ Advaitins: यथा घटविघटने घटाकाशमाकाशीभवति, तथा देहोच्छेदात् सर्वः प्राणी परे ब्रह्मणि लीयत इति ब्रह्माद्वैतवादिनः ।

The Vedāntins previously mentioned are also represented as Abhedavādins.

Pp. 270-2: Criticism of all the above schools.

P. 272: Patañjali's two sūtras on Īśvara are quoted. Avadhūta's verse is again quoted.

„ Quotations from Svapnādhyāya.

P. 273: Here ends the first Kalpa of Upāsakādhya-yana, styled 'Samasta-samaya-siddhānta-avabodha.'

P. 275 ff: Criticism as Anāptas of Brahminic gods and systems, Brahman, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sun, etc., and Śaiva, Advaita, etc. In a verse on p. 276, the Saura school of sun-worship is pooh-poohed. In an earlier verse, the general Brahminic background is laughed at, as the Darśanas say one thing, the Purāṇas another, and the Kāvyaas still another. In another verse here Somadeva points out that the Buddhistic thought was adopted by Śaṅkara, resorting to a double viewpoint, Dvaita and Advaita (Vyāvahārika and Pāramārthika):

द्वैताद्वैताश्रयः शाक्यः शंकरानुक्रुतागमः ।

„ Patañjali's Sūtra on Īśvara is quoted :

स पूर्वेषामपि गुरुः कालेनानवच्छेदात् ।

Pp. 276-7: Criticism again of Śaivism, referred to as Yoga; impossibility of Samyogasambandha between Śiva and Śakti.

P. 277 : Citation of the Vaiśeṣika view of Samavāya and the impossibility of Samavāyasambandha between Śiva and Śakti.

Then there is the interesting legend of Kaṇāda receiving the revelation from Śīva, in the form of an owl at Benares, referred to by Somadeva :

कथमन्यथा स्वत एव संजितषट्पदार्थाविसायप्रसरे कणचरे वाराणस्यां
महेश्वरस्य उत्कृष्टायुज्यसरस्येदं वचः संगच्छेत्—‘ब्रह्मातुला नामेदं दिवौकसां
दिव्यमद्भुतं ज्ञानं प्रादुर्भूतमिह त्वयि, तद्वद्विधत्स्व विप्रेभ्यः ।’

P. 278 : Criticism of the Āptatva of Śruti and Smṛti. Here ends the 2nd kalpa which examines the Āptatva of other sects and schools of thought.

P. 282 : Ends 3rd kalpa on the topics of Āgama according to Jainism.

The rest of the book is taken up by the exposition, directly as well as through Upākhyānas, of Jaina-dharma for both Yatis and Gr̥hasthas.

TRYAMBAKA IVA VIHITĀCALĀŚRAYAḤ

By DASHARATHA SHARMA

Both the *Pr̥thvīrājaviṇaya* and the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga tell us that Mūlarāja took shelter in the *Kanthādurga* on being attacked by Vighraharāja II of Śākambharī.¹ Bühler found confirmation of their statement in the line “Tryambaka iva vihitācalāśrayaḥ” of the Kaḍī Grant of Mūlarāja himself which he (Bühler) thought could refer to Mūlarāja as well as Śiva, only if both could be proved to have resided on some mountain.² As there is not, however, a single hill within fifty miles of Aṇahillapattana, the capital of Mūlarāja, and the drafter of the Grant did not, according to Bühler, know of any better way of comparing the Cālukya monarch with Śiva, he is believed to have boldly regarded this temporary stay of Mūlarāja on the Kanthā hill as equal to Śiva’s residence on the Kailāśa mountain. The view thus propounded has found general acceptance with historians.

But, in view of the fact that no *praśastikāra* would like to mention a fact redounding to the discredit of his patron (and the shelter sought in Kanthā was surely nothing to boast about), we would rather interpret the line of the Kaḍī Grant, quoted above, to mean that Mūlarāja was like Tryambaka (Śiva) who has his *āśraya* (residence) on an *acala* (mountain Kailāśa), because of being the *āśraya* of *acalā* (the earth). Both were *acalāśraya*, though in different senses. That this is the meaning that the drafter intended would be obvious on going through another simile “*Kamalayoniriva vitatakamalāśraya*” found in the same Grant wherein Mūlarāja is compared

¹ *Pr̥thvīrājaviṇaya*, V, 50-53; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, pp. 16-17.

² *Indian Antiquary*, VI, pp. 183-84 and 1891-2, lines 2-3.

with Brahmā on account of being *Kamalāśraya* in the sense that he was the *āśraya* (refuge) of Kamalā (Lakṣmī), while Brahmā too was *Kamalāśraya*, though in the different sense of having his *āśraya* (seat) on a Kamala, *i.e.*, lotus. In the line under discussion, the word *āśraya* is connected with *acala* and *acalā* and in that quoted by us for comparison, with the words *Kamala* and *Kamalā*.

URDU MARSIYA (FROM EARLIEST TIME UP TO 1840 A.D.)

By CAPTAIN S. M. ZAMIN ALI.

(Continued from page 94)

While these poets were flourishing in Delhi the school of Oudh was not falling back in making its contributions to Marsiyas. Sikandar, Afsurda and Gada in Lucknow and Mir Mohammad Ali Sabir and Mir Hasan in Fyzabad had gained reputation and were widely admired as good Marsiya writers. Sikandar has composed Marsiyas in Marwari, Punjabi and Purbi languages also and they are being recited in Majlises upto the present day. I have purposely left out the names of other Marsiya writers of this period as the line of their Marsiyas was identical to those composed by the above mentioned poets.

I will now give instances of Marsiyas composed in those days. They are the specimen of a perfect style, unsuperfluous, straightforward, impulsive, serene and full of pathos:—

ۛۛۛ

امام تشنه جگر نے پس نماز عشا
بہن کے سر کو لگا چھاتی ساتھ رو رو کہا
کہ اے حبیبہ ام الائمۃ الکسنا
تیرے بلکنے سے کانپے ہیں ارض اور سما
فتادہ غلغلہ در قدسیاں ززاری تو
رسیدہ بلکہ سر عرش ببقاری تو
نہ لوت خاک پہ اتنا تو اے فلک ماری
نہ پیٹ چھاتی کو ہر دم بہ گریہ و زاری
ابھی تو مجھ سے نہیں.....
ابھی تو زندگی میری میں رات ہے ساری

ہنوز ہر رخ ہجران زشب نقابے نیست
 بد بدھائے سکہ یک نفس حجابے نیست
 ابھی تو صبح شہادت کا کچھ نہ ہیں ہے اثر
 ابھی تو شب کی طرح ہے سیاہ روئے سکر
 ابھی قضا نے نہیں ہاتھ میں لیا خنجر
 نہ رکھ دیا ہے مری پیاسی حلق کے اوپر
 تو از برائے چہ نالان و دیدہ گریانی
 چہ صورت است کہ چوں خامہ مو پریشانی

افسرانہ

جسکو پالا گود میں اب خاک میں دیکھو نگی میں
 ہے غضب اب لاشہ شبیر پر پیشو نگی میں
 مجھکو سمجھاتے ہو تم اس غم میں کیا سمجھو نگی میں
 اور مکشر تک ردا اپنے نہ سر پر لونگی میں
 جسکا ایسا لعل ہو وے ذبح پھر وہ کیا کرے
 ہے یہی لازم برونہ سر ہو سر پیتا کرے
 سنتے ہو کہہ مرا بیٹھا ہے قیدی بے پدر
 زینب و کلثوم ہیں نالان کھلے ہیں ان کے سر
 میرا پوتا حلقہ زنجیر میں ہے بے پدر
 اور بہو بانو کا میرے لٹ گیا ہے سارا گھر
 میرے پوتے مر گئے روتے ہیں سب میدان میں
 ہے بجاکر خاک اور آؤں میں سر عریان میں
 میری پوتی فاطمہ کبرا ہوئی بیوہ دولہن
 تخت کے شب قید میں بیٹھے بیچاری خستہ تن
 اسکے دولہا نے بسایا کربلا کا آج بن
 دیکھو حورو کہ کیا بیچین ہے میرا حسن
 ایک تو بہائی کا غم اور دوسرے فرزند کا
 آنکھ سے آنسو نہیں تھمتا مرے دل بند کا

میدان میں سناں کھائی جب سینے پہ اکبر نے
 اک شور کیا اوسدم اس شام کے لشکر نے
 اوس شور کے اوتھتے ہی فریدان کی سرور نے
 آواز سنی گھر میں یہ بازوئے مضطر نے
 بولی کہ یہ کیا غل تھا جو میں نے سنا ہے
 فرزند مرا شاید گھوڑے سے گرا ہے
 ہے رونے کی سرور کے اب مجھ کو سدا آتی
 تکلیف دل شہ نے میدان میں کچھ پائی
 کیوں دیر ہوئی گھر کو تشریف نہ فرمائی
 اکبر کی مجھے لاکر کیوں شکل نہ دکھلائی
 میں سوچتی جو کچھ تھی انجام ہوا آخر
 شہ روئے ہیں اکبر کا وہیں کام ہوا آخر
 ہے میں کسے بھیجوں جارجن کی خبر لاوے
 ہے کون جو اکبر کو وہاں دیکھے کے پھر آوے
 اوس بچہ پڑے مسافر سے اللہ ہی ملو اوے
 کس طور سے یہ بانو بیٹے کی خبر پاوے
 عباس گئے مارے قاسم بھی گئے مارے
 دورن میں حوادث میں نرغہ میں ہیں بیچارے

سکندر

ہے روایت شتر اسوار کسی کا تھا رسول
 اون دنوں شہر مدینہ میں ہوا اسکا نزول
 جس محلے میں بہم دھتے تھے حسنین و بقول
 ایک لڑکی کھڑی دروازے پہ بیمار و ملول
 خط لئے کھتی تھی پردے سے لگی زار و نزار
 ادھر آنجکو خدا کی قسم اے ناقہ سوار
 ناگہاں سن شتر اسوار وہ آواز حزین
 بالادب آئے یہ کہنے لگا پردے کے قرین
 کوئی اس گھر میں دلا سے کو ترے ہے کہ نہیں
 اتنی سی عمر میں کیا دکھ ہے جو تو ہے غمگین

کون سے قوم کی تو لڑکی ہے بیمار صغیر
 کیا ترا نام ہے تو کسکے لئے ہے دلگیر
 وہ لگی کہنے کہ سن بندۂ حی القیوم
 میرا نانا ہے نبی دادا علی باب علوم
 یہ مکملہ بنی ہاشم کا ہے سبکو معلوم
 اور میں لڑکی جو بیمار ہوں دکھیا مغموم
 فاطمہ صغرا اسبواسطے میرا ہے نام
 دادی زھرا کی سی صورت ہے مرے منہ کی تمام
 ایک تو فاقہ کشی دوسرے میں ہوں بیمار
 گہر میں دانہ نہیں کیا دوں تجھے اے فاقہ سوار
 ایک مقنع ہے مرے سر پہ سودیتی ہوں اوتار
 مینے بکشا اسے بھائی مرا خطا لیکے سدھار
 کہیو بابا سے کہ ہے فاطمہ صغرا بیچپن
 نام لے لیکے وہ مرجائیگی کہہ کہہ ے حسین

It should be carefully noted at this stage that all the poets aforesaid have written their Marsiyas after the fashion of Arabs and Persians, that is to say, they have mourned the death and briefly narrated the tragedy.

But in the works of some of the Northern as well as Southern poets traces can be found of those elements which appeared in a developed form in the works of the poets at a later stage.

The tide of Marsiya changed its course with the appearance of a man possessing extraordinary genius, viz., Mir Zamir, and his contemporaries like Mir Khaliq and others on the high platform of Marsiya writers at Lucknow. They did not like to beat the trodden path but carved out a new way for themselves. They changed the tone of Marsiyas, gave an entirely new form to it but took proper care to keep the spirit alright. They began to describe the whole event from beginning to the end adding poetic and rhetoric beauties to make the narration

dignified and interesting. They divided the Marsiya into five component parts viz., **حصت** (introduction) **چہرہ**, (Preparation of the warrior for battlefield and bidding adieu to his comrades and family) **چز** (speech before war to intimidate the opponents) **دزم** (the battle) and **شہادت** (death and lamentations) each part having its own merit and being a complete subject in itself.

They adopted the form of **مسلس** and selected suitable and pleasant metres for it. The number of Bands used to vary between 40 and 60, i.e., each Marsiya contained 150 to 175 couplets. The poets showed in Marsiyas their knowledge of religion, literature, philosophy, tactics of war, feats of strength and fine arts. There is nothing wanting either to their imagination or fancy. They are teaming with action, character, feeling and thought and at the same time are full of grace and variety. In a word, they made Marsiya a literature and a distinct form of poetry in itself.

Although they made drastic changes and great improvement in the line of Marsiya but they could not realize their ideal. While they were about to reach the goal the icy hand of death stopped them. Their names shall always remain written in gold letters in the History of Urdu Literature as one who have laid down the foundation and made the plan of Epic Poetry in Urdu in the strict sense of the term as explained in the very beginning.

It would be great oblivion on my part if I do not mention the names of Dilgir and Faseeh in this connection who have done appreciable services in the reformation of Marsiyas and have composed their own on the new lines. Faseeh has written Marsiyas in short as well as long metres and his compositions cannot be too much appreciated. There are many other Marsiya writers of this time whom I do not propose to mention simply because they used to

follow the lines of Mir Zamir and have made no innovation.

I will now give a few instances of the compositions made at this time. The period is all over marked with refinement of expression and dignity of imagination.

The credit of introducing progressive innovations mentioned above in the form of Marsiya goes to Mir Zamir who was followed by almost all the Marsiya writers of his age. He himself claims this superiority in the following stanza (بند)

جس سال لکھے وصف یہ ہمیشہ کی ہے
 سن بارہ سو اربچاس تھے ہجری نبوی کے
 آگے تو یہ انداز سنے تھے نہ کسی کے
 اب سب یہ مقلد ہوئے اس طرز نوی کے
 دس میں کہوں سو میں کہوں یہ ورد ہے میرا
 جو جو کہے اس طرز میں شاگرد ہے میرا

دلگیر

شہید ظلم جو وہ شاہ تشنہ کام ہوا
 بہ ذوق نیزہ علم تب سر امام ہوا
 حرم سرا میں لعینوں کا اڑنہ ہوا
 خیام شاہ میں انبۂ فوج شام ہوا
 حرم کا زیور و زر اوتھنے لگے ظالم
 حسین امام کا گھر لوٹنے لگے ظالم
 ہوئی یہ خانہ آل عبا کی برہادی
 کہ سر برہنہ ہوئی ایک ایک نبی زادی
 ستمگروں نے یہ آل نبی کو ابدا دی
 کہ بدست فاطمہ تھیں سر برہنہ فریادی
 جلا جو خیمہ تو چھپنے کو کوٹھی جا نہ رہی
 جناب زینب خاتون کی رن نہ رہی

فصیح

سلام لکھتا ہوں میں حرم میں قلم سے زم زم ٹپک رہا ہے
 سر اپنا کعبہ کے سنگ درپز، سیاہ پردہ پٹک رہا ہے
 گھرے ہیں بادل سے شام کے دل، کھینچی ہے حیدر کی سیف براں
 گھٹا میں بجلی چمک رہی ہے زمانہ آنکھیں جھپک رہا ہے
 سکینہ پیاسی تڑپ رہی ہے پڑی ہے دبہوش بنت مسلم
 ادھر کو اصغر سسک رہا ہے اُدھر کو باقر بلبک رہا ہے
 کہا یہ عابد نے ماں سے رو کر بچے نہ اصغر رہا میں زندہ
 لگا گلے پر جو تیر ان کے جگر میں میرے کھٹک رہا ہے

Mir Khaliq describes the attack of the whole army at once on one single person in the following words:—

پیا سے پہ مثل ابر امنت ائے دل کے دل
 شعلہ صفت چمکنے لگے برچھیونکے پھل
 چلوں میں تیر رکھ کے بڑھ روم ورے کے یل
 تیغیں اُبی ہوئی جو کہچیں ہٹ گئی اجل
 دن کو سیاہی شب ظلمات ہو گئی
 کہو لے نشان شامیوں نے رات ہو گئی

Here is a graphic description of sword by the same author:—

موجیں زرہ، حباب ہیں سر اس کے سامنے
 شق ہیں بہاروں کے جگر اس کے سامنے
 رکھتی ہے کیا بساط سپر اس کے سامنے
 تنکے ہیں جبرئیل کے پر اس کے سامنے
 مارے کمر کا ہاتھہ اگر پاؤں گزے
 دو تکرے آسیا کی طرح ہوں پہاڑ کے

The following extracts are taken from Marsiyas composed by Mir Zamir:—

خلعت جو ستاروں کا ہوا پیرہن شب
 ناکہ گل خورشید نے لوتا چمن شب

انجم گئے برباد ہوئی انجمن شب
 آمادہ کیا صبح نے لاکر کفن شب
 آراستہ تخت فلک نیلو فری تھا
 فرق شہ خاور پہ دھرا تاج زری تھا
 جب چرخ کا وہ طائر زرین نظر آیا
 زاغ سیہ شب نے نشیمن کو اُٹھایا

مربابی انجم نے جو اک پرتوہ پایا
 غوطہ دھن اس قلزم اخضر میں لگایا
 پر آجو گئے طائر بیضا کی چمک پر
 کم ہونے لگا بیضہ مہتاب فلک پر
 اورنگ نشیمن شرف صفحہ طارم
 جسوقت ہوا زیب دہ قصر چہارم

تب چار طرف لٹنے لگے گوہر انجم
 گوہر کہاں پھر خون طبق ماہ ہوا گم
 خورشید اُٹھا لے گیا میدان سے رن ے
 خون سر مہتاب کو نیزے سے کرن ے

جسوقت کیا مہر نے زریں طبق صبح
 طفلان کواکب ہوئے مکو سبق صبح
 تھا خط شعاعی سے طلائی ورق صبح
 جہوں جدول شہجرف بہار شفق صبح
 نور نظر عالم ارباب تھا خورشید
 مہر خط معزولی مہتاب تھا خورشید
 جب عرصہ گردون پہ نشان مہر کا چمکا
 گویا شفق صبح بھڑکا تھا علم کا
 اختر ہوا طالع شہ خاور ے حشم کا
 افواج کواکب کو ہوا حوصلہ رم کا
 قرص مہ کامل نہ رہا آپ ے اوپر
 مہتاب لگی چھوٹے مہتاب ے اوپر

میدان میں آمد آمد قاسم کی دھوم ہے
 اور زلزلہ میں کشور سلطان و روم ہے
 ارض و سما میں جن و ملک کا ہجوم ہے
 اک حملہ میں بہشت بزیں قدوم ہے
 غل ہے کہ یہ ریاض حسن کا نہال ہے
 ابن کنندہ درۂ خیبر کا لال ہے
 اس حسن پر پڑی جو نگاہ سپاہ شام
 کوئی درود بھیجتا تھا اور کوئی سلام
 کہتا تھا کوئی میں تو ہوں اس شخص کا غلام
 ۱۵۱۵ امام باپ امام اور چچا امام
 اسکے سبب زمیں کو ہے فخر آسمان پر
 وہ ہاتھ قطع ہوں جو اٹھیں اس جوان پر
 جو جو کہ اس سپاہ میں ہے رحم تھے کھڑے
 ان سبکے اس مقام پہ آنسو نکل پڑے
 بولے کہ اس سے صاحب اولاد کیا لڑے
 دیکھا یہ ابن سعد لعین نے کھڑے
 جاکر کہا یہ ازرق شامی کے کان میں
 نام و نشان مٹا دے حسن کا جہان میں
 ازرق نے اپنے ایک پسر سے کہا کہ ہاں
 جلدی سے لا سر اس پسر ہاشمی کاہاں
 آیا مقابلہ میں وہ کر کے سبک عنان
 قاسم نے اپنے ہاتھ میں نیزے کوئی تکان
 سینے سے پار ہو گیا مارا جو زور سے
 نکسین کی صدا ہوئی رستم کے گور سے
 تب دوسرے پسر نے کیا قصد رزم گاہ
 آیا وہ اس غضب سے کہ اللہ کی پناہ
 دے خالی اسکے وار کو آخر وہ رشک ماہ
 چمکا کے تیغ بولا کہ ہاں لے تو روسیاء

آنکھہ اسکی واں تو رعب کے مارے جھپک گئی
 اتنے میں تیغ فرق سے لے تنگ تک گئی
 فرزند سیومی ہوا مصروف امتحان
 شمشیر کھینچ کر وہ وہیں سے ہوا رواں
 قاسم نے زور بازوئے حیدر کیا عیاں
 پتکے کو تھام پھینک دیا سوئے آسمان
 جب ہو گیا بلند تو سر کو فرو کیا
 گرنے لگا زمین کے اوپر تو دو کیا
 چوتھا پسر رواں ہوا مانند فیل مست
 اک تیغ مثل تختہ در تھام کر بدست
 تو شاہ نے دکھائی اسے طرفہ ضرب دست
 اسوقت کھل گیا سخن فتح اور شکست
 سینے میں آئے دھنس گیا خون ایک مشت میں
 صدمے سے ضرب آگئی گھوڑے کی پشت میں
 یاں تھے کھڑے جو اکبر و عباس نامور
 کیا دیکھتے ہیں وہ سوئے میداں اٹھائے سر
 قاسم کی سمت آنا ہے ارزق بچشم تر
 گرز گراں ہے ہاتھہ میں مہر و سر بسر
 چاروں پسر کی لاش تو پیش نگاہ ہے
 آنکھوں سے سو جھٹا نہیں عالم سیاہ ہے
 ہر آنکھہ طاس خون ہے غصہ سے منہ میں کف
 آنا ہے فیل مست کی مانند پیش صف
 یاں پاؤں ڈالتا ہے تو پرتا ہے اسطرف
 اور بیچ رہا ہے فوج میں ترنا و کوس و دف
 اکبر نے اس لعین کی جو آمد نگاہ کی
 قاسم کی کمسنی پہ نظر کر کے آہ کی
 یاں ہو رہی تھی قاسم و ارزق سے کارزار
 یہ اسکا وار روکتے تھے اور وہ ان کا وار

گرد اسقدر آزی تھی کہ جسکا نہییں شمار
 توبے ہوئے پسینے میں تھے دونوں راہوار
 اسکی ہوئی نہ فتح نہ ان کی ظفر ہوئی
 ہفتاد ضرب زد و بدل یکدگر ہوئی
 وہ توڑتا تھا تول کے جب گرز گاؤ سر
 یہ روکتے تھے ضرب بدن کو سمیٹ کر
 پرتا تھا گرز آن کے یوں ہر سر سپر
 لنگر سے اسکے ہلنتی تھی رھوار کی کمر
 اور انکی تیغ پرتی تھی اس دھوم دھام سے
 آتی تھی مہربا کی صدا آسمان سے
 قاسم سے یوں لڑا وہ لعین کر کے جد و کد
 حیدر سے جوں لڑا عمر بن عبد و
 تو شاہ نے کہا اُسی حملوں کو کر کے رد
 گھوڑے کا تنگ کھل گیا اے مرد بے خد
 وہ اپنے سر جھکائے میں کرتا درنگ تھا
 یاں اس درنگ میں نہ وہ سر تھا نہ تنگ تھا

دکھلائے خدا داغ نہ فرزند جوان کا
 یہ داغ خریدار ہے ماں باپ کی جاں کا
 اولاد کا غم شغل ہے فریاد و فغاں کا
 جب ہو نہ دل آرام تو آرام کہاں کا
 یہ داغ کسی صاحب اولاد سے پوچھو
 شبیر سے یا بانوئے ناشان سے پوچھو

نکلا جو سر مہر گریبان سکر سے
 انجم کے گہر گر گئے دامن سکر سے
 مہتاب کا رنگ آڑ گیا دامن سکر سے
 روشن ہوا صکرا رخ سامان سکر سے
 جو وادی ایمن میں ہوا طور کا عالم
 وہ خیمہ شبیر میں تھا نور کا عالم

وہ نور کا تر کا اندھ اور صبح کا عالم
گھٹنا مہ و انجم کی تجلی کا وہ کم کم

آنی تھی صدائے دھل صبح بھی پیرم
چلتی تھی نسیم سکری دشت میں تھم تھم

کرتا تھا چراغ سکری عزم سفر کا
اور شور درختوں پہ وہ مرغان سکر کا

پہچانتے ہو کس کی مرے سر پہ ہے دستار
دیکھو تو عبا کس کے ہے گاندھے پہ نمودار

یہ کس کی زرہ کسکی سپر کسکی ہے تلوار
میں جسیپہ سوار آیا ہوں کس گاہے یہ رھوار

باندھا ہے کمر میں جسے یہ کسکی ردا ہے
کیا فاطمہ زہرا نے نہیں اسکو سیا ہے

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

SAROD RASACANDRIKĀ, by Mr. Nirendra Krishna Mitra of Shobha Bazar, Rajbati. Price Rs. 5.

Sarod Rasacandrikā is one of the few text-books in existence on instrumental music in India. It gives in notation 312 Rāgas with Tan, Jhala, Thāt, etc., as imparted by the late Ustad Amir Khan of Bengal, who was well-known all over India as a Sarod player of remarkable ability. These "gats" are applicable to all stringed instruments and should prove a mine of information to advanced students in instrumental music. The late Ustad Amir Khan has left a large number of pupils in Bengal some of whom, e.g., Sj. Radhika Mohan Moitra, have been greatly appreciated at the various sessions of the Allahabad University Music Conference and other places.

This book has been written in a lucid style, with an introductory chapter, which includes interesting questions and answers on the theory of music. Each Rāga is prefaced by an idea of the time when it should be played, its tāla and class to which it belongs. The book would cater to the needs of a wider public if it could be translated in Hindi.

The author, Mr. Nirendra Krishna Mitra of Shobha Bazar, Rajbati, deserves hearty congratulations for putting into the market a treatise of great importance on instrumental music. The book is priced at Rs. 5 and is dedicated to the author's elder brother, the late Sj. Ganendra Krishna Mitra.

D. R. Bhattacharya

GLORIES OF MARWAR AND THE GLORIOUS RATHORS, by Mm. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu, published by the Archaeological Department, Jodhpur, 1943. Pages i—lxiv+273. Price Rs. 3-4-0.

The *Glories of Marwar* by Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu is an attempt at describing the history of the Rathor Principality of Marwar. The Introduction chronicles briefly the events of the reigns of various rulers who have sat on the *gaddi* of that State and in certain particulars new information has been supplied by the author. But the method of treatment is highly defective and there is not much evidence of careful discrimination or weighing of facts culled from State-records in the light of Persian histories. The book abounds in inaccuracies and the language is not free from mistakes of idiom and grammar. The account of Rao Maldeva's relations with Humayun is not quite correct and so is the account of Maharaja Ajit Singh. The author writes distinctly with a Rathor bias and fails to estimate precisely the importance of events and the actions of personalities when they came into conflict with other powers.

There is one important aspect of the book which must be noted. It will serve as a good source book for the history of Marwar for it contains a large number of inscriptions, letters and documents which will enable students of Rajasthan to add much to their knowledge of the history of that picturesque part of the earth. Many of these documents have been translated by Mm. Reu with care and they are bound to prove useful to the historian.

Mm. Reu has incorporated into the volume his articles contributed to journals and papers read at conferences and congresses. These occupy 264 pages out of nearly 331 in the book. The appendices are larger than the text of history. The history proper of Marwar chronicled by the

author runs only into 62 pages. The *Glories of Marwar* is thus merely a collection of papers and articles of Mm. Reu already printed in journals or read at literary congregations. It would have been better if Mm. Reu had in his history utilised all the information and given us a systematic and critical survey of the development of Marwar. Still the book is bound to prove useful to students of Rajput history and will admirably serve as a source book for researchers.

—Ishwari Prasad

ŚRĪ ŚRĪ CAITANYACARITĀMṚTA: (Ādikhaṇḍa), by Śrī Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Goswāmī, along with a running commentary in Bengali and Sanskrit by Mr. Vidhibhusan Sarkar and published by Śrī Mādādā Kāryālaya, Illupar, Barisal. Pages 523. Price Rs. 7.

Śrī Caitanyacaritāmṛta is a well-known work on the Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava School. The volume under review contains only the Ādilīlā section of it. There have been several editions of this book, but the present volume with its Bengali and Sanskrit notes is undoubtedly much more useful in bringing out the meaning of the text. The style of the commentaries is quite interesting and lucid. Both the commentator and the publisher deserve our congratulations for this fine edition. Mr. Sarkar has further shown his devotion to the school by bringing out several smaller works dealing with different aspects of the teachings of Caitanya.

BRAHMASŪTRABHĀṢYANIRNAYA, by Cidghanānanda Purī. Published by Ramakrishna Sewashrama, Benares, 1943. Pages 263.

It has been a problem with the students of Indian philosophy to find out how there have been so many different and independent interpretations of the same *Brahmasūtra*.

We know that there are more than ten different commentaries representing different schools at present. It is very gratifying to note that the learned Swāmī, Cidghanānandajī, has brought out a book dealing with this problem. The book under review is divided into two parts. It deals with the various aspects of the *Brahmasūtra*: its authorship, the ultimate aim of the work, the probable date of its composition, the method adopted in the arrangement of the Sūtras, its relation with Buddhism and Jainism, Gauḍapāda and Buddhism and similar other topics.

Next he discusses the arrangement of the Sūtras and the adhikaraṇas according to Śaṅkara, Bhāskara, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva, Śrīkaṇṭha, Śrīkara, Vallabha, Vijñāna Bhikṣu, and Baladeva. He tries to find out the points of similarities and dis-similarities between these various authors on the above question. After a critical survey of the work he comes to the conclusion that the interpretation of Śaṅkara alone faithfully represents the view-point of Vyāsa, the author of the Sūtra work.

The treatment, though very brief, is quite interesting and is based on internal evidences. He has examined almost all the points very carefully. It would have been far better if the author had gone into the depth of the problems to find out the causes which led to the differences amongst the Ācāryas while arranging the Sūtras and the Adhikaraṇas for their respective philosophy. However, the author deserves congratulation for his valuable service to the cause of Indian philosophy. Students working on this line will find the book very useful.

JÑĀNADĪPIKĀ. A COMMENTARY by Devabodha on the Ādiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. Edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941.

The importance of the work which the Bhandarkar Research Institute is doing in publishing the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* and its commentaries cannot be exaggerated. It has recently published the commentary of Devabodha, called *Jñānadīpikā*, which is regarded as the oldest commentary extant on the *Mahābhārata*. Though very brief, it is very important both for the understanding and the constitution of the text of the Epic. It explains only difficult words and passages in the text and also sometimes gives the gist of the passages. Almost all the later commentators on the Epic have referred to this commentary and some have actually based their glosses on it. It is very gratifying to learn that the Bhandarkar Institute intends publishing Devabodha's commentary on *Sabhā*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma*, and *Droṇa* parvans also. The editor deserves congratulation for having undertaken such an important work.

MĪRĀLAHARĪ by Panditā S. Kshamā Devī Rao, 37, New Marine Lane, Bombay with a Foreword by Dr. Amaranatha Jha, Vice-chancellor, Allahabad University. Price Rs. 2-8.

India has produced several high class poetesses from time to time. Śilā, Vijjikā, Mārulā, Vikāṭanitambā, Indulekhā, Lakhimā, Trivenī, etc., are too well-known amongst the old poetesses. Even at the present day we have scholars amongst the ladies who are doing good work in Sanskrit. Paṇḍitā Śrīmatī Kshamā Devī is one of them. She possesses a unique combination of Eastern and Western scholarship. She is well-acquainted with several

European languages and has written extensively both in English and Sanskrit. Her earlier works in Sanskrit are: सत्याग्रहगीता, कथापञ्चकम्, विचित्रपरिषद्यात्रा, and शङ्करजीवनाख्यानम् ।

The work under review is her latest work. In it she deals with the life and work of Mirā Bai, the well-known devotional figure of our country. The book is divided into two parts consisting of 91 and 44 verses, respectively. All the verses are written in the शार्दूलविक्रीडित metre. She has herself added an easy and lucid Sanskrit Commentary to this work.

Every verse in this book has got its own charm. Natural and smooth flow of the verses mixed with every poetic excellence makes the work much more attractive. With the sublime nature of the subject, the grace and purity of thoughts and language and the beauties of poetics, the work deserves a high place in Sanskrit literature. Indeed, the work is a source of great inspiration for the younger generation. The author deserves every praise for this excellent achievement.

PRĀCĪNA BĀNGĀLĀ PATRA SĀṆKALANA, compiled and edited by Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., B.Litt, Ph.D., Keeper of the Records of the Govt. of India. Published by the Calcutta University, 1942.

The Government of India possesses valuable records in the form of letters written in various oriental languages. The majority of the letters are in Persian. Through the efforts of the late Sir Denison Ross all the letters written in Persian, amounting to 13,301, have been translated into English and published in eight volumes. The Government of India has now decided to publish letters written in other languages. The Records Office has so far found out letters in the following languages : 1 in Chinese and Arakani ; 2 in

Bhutani, Kanārese, and Tibetan; 7 in Burmese; 12 in Uriya; 18 in Sanskrit; 175 in Bengali; 227 in Marathi; and 354 in Hindi. Besides these, there are several letters in Gurumukhi.

These letters disclose various historical facts not known so far through any other source. Realising the importance of these letters for the reconstruction of history in India, the Government of India have permitted their publication. Different responsible Institutions have been authorised to publish them. It is likely that the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute may undertake to publish the letters in Sanskrit, a few of which have already been published in its Journal.

The book under review is the first volume of the Records in Oriental languages series. It is divided into two parts. The first part contains critical Introduction in Bengali, the original letters and annotations including a glossary of difficult and uncommon words, while the second part consists of English Introduction, English synopses, notes and bibliography. The letters are very important. They cover the period between 1772 to 1820 and reveal various facts of historical and social importance. For a student of history working on the period, the volume is very useful.

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIA RESEARCH (1917-42), by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D.,—viii + 114 + viii, published by the Greater India Society, 35, Badur-bagan Row, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.

Dr. U. N. Ghoshal of Calcutta wrote a long and interesting article for the *Progress of Indic Studies* (1917-42) published by the BHANDARKAR RESEARCH INSTITUTE, giving an account of knowledge acquired about Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma, Siam,

Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Malay and Ceylon within about the last 50 years. He recapitulated how Great Britain, U. S. A., France, Germany, Japan, China and other countries sent out archæological expeditions to the above countries, and how the results of the finds and discoveries were embodied in the numerous illustrated reports published by the different countries. It was from this material that scholars of the world started reconstructing the history of the long-lost civilisations and peoples. The present book is a reprint of the above article with the addition of a useful index and bibliography.

Time there was when all sorts of humiliating historical theories were aired by scholars imbued with racial prejudices about problems relating to India. Instead of Indian Aryans being admitted as having migrated to other countries and given them their civilisations, the arbitrary theory was set up that they themselves came to India from outside. Recent discoveries, however, and specially those at Ur, Kish, Boghaz-Kui and Tel-el-Amarna are now furnishing refutation of this. Similarly Bühler's theory that our Brahmi script had been borrowed from the Semitic ones has been ably exploded by Ojha and other scholars of this country. The researches outlined in the present booklet are of special interest and pride to India as they furnish irrefutable material indicating the activities of Indians in these countries as pioneers of civilisation for the last over 2000 years.

The book does not confine itself to the quarter of century alone but goes back to the last decades of the last century when expeditions were started and discoveries began to be made in quick succession. The publication is nicely got up and is indispensable for every scholar of history.

— B. P. Singh.

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